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THE OLD ENGLISH GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

THE texts here printed have not previously been published, either as a whole or in part.¹ While they are both concerned with that very interesting subject, the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, they are of quite a different character. The first (from the Cotton MS Vespasian D 14) is without doubt a late Old English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, while the second (from the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 41) is an OE. homily which discusses with some detail the "Harrowing of Hell" episode from the apocryphal sources of the life of Christ.

I. THE MANUSCRIPT COTTON VESPASIAN D 14 (FOL. 87b-100).

When I undertook, a few years ago, to edit the OE. manuscripts of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,² I did not appreciate the real importance of the version contained in Vesp. D 14. There are two reasons why I did not include this version (or, at any rate, supply variant readings from it) in the reprint of the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS Ii, ii, 11 and the Cotton MS Vitellius A 15: first, and chiefly, because I was misled by Wülker's words, "Nicht zu verwechseln mit dieser Übertragung ist ein Auszug aus dem Pseudevangelium Nicodemi in der Handschrift zu London, Cotton. Vesp. D XIV,"³ as to the importance of the text; in the second place, I had never had a good opportunity to examine the manuscript carefully. These facts also account for the following statement, which occurs in the previously mentioned edition:

In addition to the above mentioned MSS a sort of résumé of the contents of the Gospel of Nicodemus, i. e., of Part II, is found in the Cotton MS Vespasian D 14 (fol. 87b-100a incl.) in the form of a homily by Aelfric.⁴

¹ FÖRSTER does include a few passages of Vespasian D 14 in his article, "Zum alt-englischen Nicodemus-Evangelium," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CVII, pp. 311-21.

² See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIII (New Series, Vol. VI), pp. 457 f. (1898).

³ Cf. *Grundriss*, p. 497.

⁴ Cf. *Publications*, p. 464.

In the summer of 1901 I was able to study thoroughly and to make a copy of the manuscript, and to see, as a result thereof, the insufficiency of my own and Wülker's characterization of the piece. Later in the same year my attention was directed to the value of the Vespasian version by Professor Max Förster's article in *Archiv*.¹ An examination of the MS led me to conclude that the version is neither an *auszug* from nor a "résumé" of the original, or the Cambridge version—a conviction which was strengthened by the reading of Förster's discussion of the relation of the MSS.² It seems, moreover, very doubtful³ whether the piece may be considered a homily at all, although evidence in favor of such an assumption is not altogether wanting. It has been preserved in a MS that has a decidedly homiletic character, and among pieces that are undoubtedly homilies, though there are a number of non-homiletic pieces in the same codex. There are, also, two passages in the text, which have nothing to do with the traditional narrative of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and which begin with words that belong especially to the homiletic vocabulary of OE. Neither of these passages has anything exactly corresponding in the other two versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The passages in question are as follows:

1. Eala mæn þa leofeste, hwu laðlic and hwu grislic wæs þære deoflene gemot, þa seo helle and se deofel heom betweenen cidden!⁴

2. Eala mæn, hwu grislic hit wæs þa-þa seo deofellice helle pone feond Beelzebub underfeng and hine fæste geheold! For-þan se deofol wæs ær þære helle hlaford and eallra þære deofellicre þingen þe hire on wæron.⁵

The words *Eala mæn* are especially characteristic of OE. homilies. But it is, of course, possible that the peculiar language and style of the Vespasian version, as compared with those of the earlier versions, are due to the copyist of the manuscript,⁶ and that these passages were added by him. Whatever one may think on this point, there is, apparently, no valid reason for attributing them to Aelfric.⁷ But before going further into the questions

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. p. 28 of text.

² Cf. p. 314.

⁴ Cf. p. 25 of text.

⁶ FÖRSTER, p. 320.

⁷ *Ibid.* Professor A. S. Napier, who knows the MS thoroughly, sees no reasons for believing in Aelfrician authorship. WÜLKER thinks (*Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, p. 69) that the original version of the OE. *Evang. Nicod.* was a product of the Aelfrician school.

of date and authorship, it will be well to give a brief history of the manuscript.

MS Cotton Vespasian D 14 is a small quarto on vellum and contains 169 leaves (i. e., 338 pages), which measure $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The MS of our piece is written in a bold, clear hand which offers little difficulty to the reader. Capitals are indicated by a red stroke or flourish on the front of the letter, and they are employed with considerable care. The scribe was also fond of paragraphing, paragraphs being indicated by the setting in of lines. There are numerous corrections and insertions of minor importance throughout the MS, which have generally been indicated in the footnotes of the text here printed. These corrections are in a later hand, which is probably also responsible for the large number of underscored words and phrases, sprinkled apparently at random through the piece. In the very scanty account of the MS in the British Museum *Catalogue of Manuscripts* it is assigned to the late eleventh or the twelfth century. The hand of the Nicodemus text seems to justify this rather indefinite dating. The earliest account of the manuscript with which I am acquainted is that of Wanley, who says: "Vespasianus D 14, Cod. Membr. in Octavo partim Lat. partim Saxon. diversis temporibus scriptus."¹ Wanley gives a list of the contents of the MS, in which the version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is numbered XXXIII, and he says of it: "De Resurrectione Dñi. . . . Tractatus hic, est Abbreviatio Pseudo-Evangeliæ Nicodemo adscripti."² Skeat is evidently following Wanley when he says: "There is also an abbreviated copy of the same story [i. e., the *Gospel of Nicodemus*] in MS Cott. Vespasian D. XIV. hom. XXXIII.;"³ and, as we shall see, Wanley and Skeat are, generally speaking, correct.

Wanley evidently thought that different parts of the MS were written at different times, but he does not assign a specific date to any part. J. Nehab,⁴ who, it appears, had not seen the MS, thinks that it belongs to the end of the twelfth century;⁵ and

¹ *Catalogue*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London, 1871), Introduction, p. vii. Cf. also FÖRSTER, p. 314.

⁴ *Der altenglische Cato* (Berlin, 1879), p. 3.

⁵ NEHAB, p. 41.

B. Assmann¹ likewise places it in the twelfth century on account of linguistic reasons: "Aus der sprache ersehen wir, dass sie [i. e., die handschrift] im 12. jahrhundert geschrieben ist." Napier, who has examined the entire MS with care, says of it:

Homily MS, written early in the twelfth century. The greater portion is written by one hand, which extends to f. 163b. . . . Then follow six short homiletic bits in different hands: the first from f. 163b to 165; the second f. 165; the third fol. 165b to 166; the fourth f. 166 to 168; the fifth f. 168b to 169; the sixth and last f. 169b.²

Förster follows Napier in assigning the manuscript to the early part of the twelfth century, and he also attempts to fix the locality of the text:

Der in Frage kommende Hauptteil der Handschrift . . . ist im Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts, vermutlich im mittleren Süden Englands, aus sehr bunt gemischten Vorlagen von *einem* Kopisten zusammengestellt.³

In another connection he says that the region in or around Dorset

würde gut passen zu dem mutmasslichen Entstehungsorte unserer Handschrift, den ich im mittleren Süden—aufs Geratewohl habe ich an Winchester (?) gedacht—suchen möchte.⁴

I shall have occasion to revert to this point again. Napier's date for the MS may, I think, be accepted as the probable one—at all events, until more definite evidence shall prove it to be incorrect.

Objection has been raised⁵ to the presumption⁶ on my part that the Vespasian MS version (which for convenience we may with Förster call C) contains only the second part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The version does represent Part I of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, but in a very much abbreviated form. That is to say, C omits entirely that part of the narrative which corresponds to the first ten pages of MS A⁷ and to about the first fourteen of MS B.⁸ The fact that C begins the narrative just where there is a considerable lacuna in the other versions has, I think, some bearing on the question of the relation of C to the

¹ *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (Kassel, 1889), pp. 246, 247.

² *Academy*, Vol. XXXVII (February 22, 1890), p. 134.

³ P. 314.

⁴ P. 319.

⁵ FÖRSTER, p. 320.

⁶ *Publications*, p. 464.

⁷ Cambr. Univ. MS II, ii, 11.

⁸ MS Cott. Vitel. A 15.

versions A and B, and to a possible older original. The lacuna occurs, to be sure, at the same place in the narrative as given by both A and B, but it has been shown¹ that the language and stylistic differences between these two versions are too extensive for the one to be a simple copy of the other. That is, B, which is evidently later than A, is apparently not a copy of A, but both are probably copies of an older original. Moreover, since C does not begin the story before the lacuna,² the presumption in favor of the older original is made stronger. And it therefore seems to me not at all improbable that C is also a copy of the same original, from which a few leaves (corresponding to the lacuna) had been lost.

The copyist of C, as Förster³ has already shown, dealt very freely with his original, omitting words, clauses, and sentences at will, making frequent additions, often inverting the word-order, and showing especial fondness for indirect discourse, where A and B employ direct. It is, however, to be observed that there are not a few passages and a multitude of separate sentences⁴ in C which, excepting the different word-forms due to the later date of the MS, find exact correspondence in A. There are likewise a few instances in which C agrees with B rather than with A. The changes which the copyist of C evidently made were, as compared with A and B, undoubtedly intended to make the meaning clearer and the thought more forcible. In other words, there is perceptible throughout C a strong tendency toward modernization;⁵ and it is worthy of remark that the copyist of C treats his original with greater freedom, especially through compression and abbreviation, as he approaches the end of the narrative.

As to the date of the MSS A and B, we are, I think, safe in saying that they both belong to the eleventh century;⁶ and I also think that B is later than A. The Cambridge MS was, we know,

¹ See *Publications*, pp. 536 ff.

² The lacuna corresponds to several "chapters" in Tischendorf's Latin version of the *Evang. Nicod.* Cf. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 352-64; also WÜLKER, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Litteratur* (Paderborn, 1872), p. 15; *Publications*, p. 517; SKEAT, *op. cit.*

³ Cf. pp. 315-18.

⁵ Cf. FÖRSTER, p. 314.

⁴ For examples see footnotes to text.

⁶ Cf. *Publications*, pp. 464, 465.

included among the benefactions which Bishop Leofric made to the cathedral of Exeter at some time between 1050 and 1072 A. D. In the former year Leofric transferred¹ the united "sees of Devon and Cornwall" to Exeter, and moved the episcopal seat from Crediton to the same place. But it by no means follows that the bishop also made the benefactions to St. Peter's in the same year—an assumption that Förster makes without sufficient warrant.² It appears to me more likely that the transfer would be made within, say, two or three years of Leofric's death; about which time, we may also conclude, the memorandum³ or list of the benefactions was written. As Leofric lived twenty-two years after moving to Exeter—that is, until the year 1072—we have a considerable margin within which the MS might have been produced. Earle, who prints⁴ the memorandum in its original OE. form, adds a few explanatory notes, in which he says, among other things:

A memorandum of this sort might be made either before or after the death of the benefactor: it would probably be not at any wide interval on either side of that event, which happened in 1072. Among the Exeter deeds is one by William A. D. 1069 granting to Leofric most of the lands named in this memorandum as Leofric's own benefaction.⁵

Wanley gives the date of the MS as "circa tempus conquestionis Angliae."⁶ But Skeat thinks Wanley's date is a little too late, and he assigns to it "the locality Exeter, and the date about A. D. 1050."⁷

The fixing of a definite date for MS B is a still more difficult problem. In the matters of carelessness, corrupt word-forms, and hand the MS bears a rather striking similarity⁸ to those of the OE. version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies* immediately preceding it in the codex. It is, however, impossible to determine from these meager data whether either MS belongs to the end of the eleventh

¹ Cf. EARLE AND PLUMMER, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892-99), Vol. II, p. 226.

² Cf. p. 312.

³ For the original documents connected with the transfer see KEMBLE, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.; HADDAN AND STUBBS, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. I, pp. 691-95.

⁴ *Land Charters and Saxon Documents* (Oxford, 1888), pp. 249-51.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁶ *Catalogue*, p. 152.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

⁸ Cf. *Publications*, p. 467, and FÖRSTER, pp. 312, 313.

or the beginning of the twelfth century, and it is in reality a matter of precious little importance.

If we are correct in the supposition that all three MSS are copies of one and the same older version, the question arises as to the probable date of the original MS. Wülker¹ and ten Brink² think that the OE. prose translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was made in the first half of the eleventh century. Förster³ thinks it might have been written any time between 950 and 1050, and, inasmuch as that was the period in which most of the known OE. prose pieces on religious subjects and many translations from the Bible were produced, we are quite safe in assigning the original MS to the same period. At any rate, I have not succeeded in collecting any data that would justify me in fixing the date more exactly.

Version C has many points of interest for students concerned with the history of the English language, and especially for lexicographers. It contains many words and turns of speech which clearly foreshadow the rapidly approaching Middle English period. There are, indeed, several words that do not appear in any of the "Anglo-Saxon" dictionaries. I have sufficient space only to call attention to the most unusual of these words.

1. *Barimathia* (p. 13) is a peculiar form of the proper name Arimathia which occurs several times in C (Arimathia not at all), and for which I have been able to find no source. Arimathia is the form used by both the other versions. It is probably only a corruption.⁴

2. *dernelegere* (p. 13) for *forligere* of A and B = "adultery" is given in Bosworth-Toller, but is an unusual word.

3. *Syndonissce* (p. 24) is not in the dictionaries, nor have I been able to find the word anywhere. It occurs in the following

¹ *Das Evangelium Nicodemi*, p. 13; cf. *Grundriss*, p. 498.

² *Early English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 111.

³ FÖRSTER is in error when he says (p. 320), "*Hulme reproduziert ten Brink's Datirung in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts*," inasmuch as I have never before expressed an opinion on this point. Cf. *Publications*, pp. 464 f. and 541.

⁴ From *Joseph ab Ar(i)mathia* or *Abar(i)mathia* (so in JOHANNIS GLASTONIENSIS. Cf. NITZE, *MODERN PHILOLOGY*, Vol. I, p. 251). In the Old French metrical romance of *Perlesvaus* Joseph of Arimathea appears, according to Nitze, as *Joseph d'Abarimacie*, while Robert's *Joseph* has the form *Joseph de Bérimathie*. Cf. NITZE, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

connection: "Soð hit is pæt ic hine abæd and on clænen syn-donissce hræigle befeold," etc., where A has "on clænre scytan befeold," while B omits the reference entirely.

4. *ferrædden* (p. 14) for *forræddan* (subst. ?) = "traitor, plotter," where A has "gepeaht worhton myd pam mæssepreostum." The word is not given in the dictionaries as a noun, and may therefore be considered new.

5. *belefen* (p. 16) = "believe" ("Hwy nolden ge belefen on hine") is, I think, the only instance thus far recorded of the occurrence of this word in OE. literature. The *New English Dictionary* gives no example of it before ca. 1200.

6. *hogelease* (p. 16) for *orsorge* of A and B, and corresponding to OE. *hygelēas* = "careless, thoughtless, foolish," is an early instance of a rather general tendency in late OE. and early ME. to discard umlaut forms and return to the stems of the primitive words. This form is not recorded in the dictionaries. Förster¹ quotes several similar stem-forms from the *Owl and Nightingale*, such as *hoze* (l. 701), *hozful* (l. 537), *hohful* (l. 1289).

7. *larðeign* (p. 20) for *lareow* of A is the earliest instance of this form yet recorded. Stratmann-Bradley gives one instance of *lōr-bein*.

8. *bisne* (p. 24) for *blynde* (A) is a rare word in Old English. It does not occur in B.-T., Grein, Sweet, or Clark Hall, but Cook² has noted its appearance three times in the *Lindisfarne Gospel of St. Matthew*. The references are Matt. 9:27, "gefylgdon hine (him) tuoegē bisene (blinde) clioppende;" 9:28, "geneolecdon to him bisena (blinde);" 11:5, "biseno geseað halto geonges." Both Wright and Murray give a variety of forms of this word as occurring (mainly in the northern part of England) during the ME. period, the earliest of which is *Genesis and Exodus*, 472 (Wright), 2822 (Murray). Wright quotes: "Lamech . . . wurð bisne, and haued a man ðat ledde him ofte." The word also occurs in *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 243: "A dai thu art blind other bisne." The word survived far down into the modern English period as *bisson*, *bizzen*, *bezzen-blind* (= "purblind"), *beeson*, etc. It occurs at least twice in Shakespeare: once in *Hamlet*, II, 2, 529, "Run

¹ Cf. p. 319.

² A *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (Halle, 1894).

barefoot up and down, threatening the flames with bisson rheum;" and again in *Coriolanus*, II, 1, 70: "What harm can your bisson conspectuities glean out of this character, if I be known well enough too?" After this time the word in the simple significance of "blind" (or "blinding") seems rapidly to have become obsolete. The fact that the word was as well (or better) known in the OE. and ME. dialects of northern England as in the midland or south rather weakens the force of Förster's presumption in favor of the southern origin of the piece.

9. *Stinchende* and *riche* (p. 27) are early examples of *ch* for *c*.

10. *Chearte* (p. 30) represents a peculiar development of the OE. *cræt* (= "cart"). The word generally underwent metathesis (*cræt* > *cært* > *cart*).¹ I have found no other example of this form of it.

I have on two separate occasions since their appearance collated the printed texts A and B with the originals, and these collations have enabled me to make several corrections, especially in version B, the MS of which is in a few places very difficult to make out. The corrections made in A are, excepting one or two typographical errors, of minor importance. But for the sake of completeness and of convenience for future reference I give hereafter the entire list of *errata*, including the "Corrections" from *Publications*, p. 542.

It would have been better to retain the pagination of the codex in version A, which would then read "P. 344," "P. 345," instead of "P. 1," "P. 2."²

471, 16,³ read *leui* (for *levi*); 19, p. 2 begins in middle of the word *cwædon*; 32, line in MS begins with *ac*. 472, 26, insert asterisk after *acsode*. 473, 1, read *pinum* (for *pinum*); 2, *æ* in *cænne* partially erased; 14, read *geeadmetlan*, del. brackets, *a* in *eall* no longer legible; 16, del. leaders; 18, del. *and* and read *cyn-nige*; 20, read *hebreiscan*, del. brackets; 21, read *heora ræaf*; 29, *cwæt* is the regular MS form in cases where the word is written

¹ See *New English Dict.* under "Cart."

² The MS numbers refer to pages and not to folia, as FÖRSTER would have it (p. 313, footnote).

³ Numbers refer to page and line of *Publications*, Vol. XIII.

out; I noticed only one instance of *cwæð*;¹ 30, read *andswarode*. 474, 24, read *swyðe*; 34, read *wyðer*-. 475, 2, read *iudeon* *æac*(?); 24, fol. 59a begins after *Gyf*. 476, 9, read *amnes*; 23, read *þam*; 30, *æð* in *cwæð* ital. 477, 14, read *iacobes*; 18, *c* has been erased before *wæt*; 25, read *anna*.^s 478, 18, *æð* in *cwæð* ital. 479, 34, *e* in *meg* like *o*. 481, 9, *e* in *wyðe* erased in MS; 21, *m* in *sweltam* not ital.; 32 del. *t* in *rihtwys*. 483, 20, *s* and *e* in *scrafe* erased in MS. 484, 24, read *wif* (for *wyf*); 25, *m* in *þam* ital. 485, 15, read *ðndrede*; 24, read *ðingan*. 487, 8, read *syllað*; 20, read *beoð*; 25, first *s* in *mēssepreost* above line; 26, read *preceptor*. 489, 24, read *cwæt*; 29, fol. 67b begins with *fole*; 32, read *cwæt*. 491, 20, read *we*; 26, MS *hadan* (for *handan*). 492, 18, *æð* in *cwæð* not ital. 493, 6, read *ealle*; 7, read *lychamam*; 21, read *ðe* (for *de*); 26, read *fewertegedam*; 31, *æt* in *cwæt* ital. 494, 11, *þ* in *þa* l. c.; 21, *ier* in *hierusalem* not ital. 495, 2, one or more letters erased between *þo* and *ne* in first *þone*; 20, separate *cnæaw-um*. 496, 14, *m* in *adam* not ital.; 30, *m* in *þeodum* ital. 497, 2, read *gewordene*; 16, read *mennisce*; 24, read *ðisstrum*; 25, an erasure between *e* and *o* in *geseon*; 33, fol. 73a begins with *weard*. 498, 8, *m* in *þam* ital.; 32, p. 27 begins with *wyrcende*. 499, 24, read *ealle* (for *ealle*); 34, an erasure of two or three letters between *o* and *g* in *toatogon*. 500, 8, read *men-niscnysse*; 24, *æð* in *cwæð* ital.; 25, *m* in *þam* ital. 501, 15, read *ofonne*. 502, 21, read *And*; 34, read *unryhtwysnysse*. 503, 15, *s* in *englisc* above line; 21, read *cinning*. 504, 33, first *m* in *gewemminge* ital. 505, 19, *t* erased between *n* and *c* in *stincen-diste*; 22, read *gelicnisse*; *þ* has been torn from margin of the MS; 34, fol. 78a begins with *hæfst*. 507, 25, read *la* (for *La*). 508, 24, MS *hude* (for *cude*). 509, 6, fol. 79b begins with *mine*; 12, read *genam*; 22, *hele* erased between *hys* and *wundra*; 30, read *inn* (for *inne*). 510, 2, *æð* in *cwæð* not ital.; 3, *m* in *eom* ital.; 16, read *þynum* (for *þinum*). 511, 20, read *gesceafta* (for *gesceapa*). 514, read *hit* (for *hyt*); 16, read *wes* (for *wes*.)

In the footnotes to the text C I have undertaken to give the variant readings from A (and B when it differs from A and

¹ FÖRSTER is confusing when he says (p. 317, footnote): "Hier wie sonst löst Hulme aus mir unauffindbarem Grunde die Abkürzung *cw* mit *cwæt* auf." The footnote reference (16) is to version A, in which *cwæt* does not occur a single time in the reprint.

agrees with C). The variants do not include different forms of the same words. It would have been simpler and preferable to give the variants from C in the edition of A and B.¹

II. A HOMILY FROM THE MARGIN OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 41 (FORMERLY 2), PP. 295-301.

The margins of the famous Bede manuscript of Corpus Christi College contain a large number of pieces both in old English and in Latin, which the various editors of the Bede have, quite naturally, said little about. Miller² devotes considerable space to a description of the MS, but he does not say a word about the marginal writings, which would of themselves make a goodly volume in print. Schipper, who has printed the Bede part of the MS in its entirety,³ with an extensive introduction and copious textual notes, gives a little information about the marginal texts. In his description of the MS he speaks⁴ of the various other interesting pieces that it contains. In another connection he says:

Ueber die lateinischen und angelsächsischen Gebete, Zauberformeln, Homilien, die das Manuscript an verschiedenen Stellen auf dem Rande enthält (auf S. 196-198 den Anfang von Salomon und Saturn von v. 1 bis v. 30^a) und die in verschiedenen jüngeren Händen geschrieben sind, vgl. die Angaben in Wanley's Katalog.⁵

In his excellent description of the codex, Wanley⁶ makes eighteen different divisions of the contents. All but three or four of these divisions concern the various marginal pieces, which consist of prayers, exorcisms, and homilies. They are all written in a later hand (or rather later hands) than that of the Bede text. In several instances Wanley gives the texts of the prayers and exorcisms in full, but he usually supplies simply the beginning and end of each of the four or five homilies in the list. The homilies which Wanley names by title⁷ are (1) *Homilia de B. V. Maria*,⁸

¹For a complete list of language differences between A and B see *Publications*, pp. 536-40.

²*The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Part I (London, 1890 [E. E. T. S. 95, 96]), Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

³*König Alfred's Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* ("Bibliothek der AS. Prosa, Bd. IV; Leipzig, 1897-99), 2^{te} Hälfte, 2^{te} Abtl., Einl., pp. xxv ff.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

⁶*Catalogue*, pp. 114, 115.

⁷Under No. XI he says: "Sequuntur etiam sermones Saxonici, marginibus Cod. ordine scripti."

⁸No. XIII, p. 299.

- (2) *Homilia, Repleatur os meum laude ut possum cantare*,¹
 (3) *Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi*,² (4) *Sermo de S. Michale*.³

No. 15, *Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi*, is the one in which I am especially interested, because the first part of it is devoted largely to a discussion in homiletic fashion of the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*; while the latter portion deals with the ascension in the same way.

In looking through the Bede MS in the summer of 1901, I accidentally stumbled upon this homily, which, excepting Wanley's description, is, so far as I know, not mentioned elsewhere. It has certainly never been printed. The collections of Thorpe, Morris, and Skeat contain not a single reference to any one of the homilies of this MS. But Professor Napier⁴ is now engaged in the preparation of a new collection of OE. homilies, which will, I think, include them all. I copied the piece myself and made a careful collation and comparison of my copy with the original.

There is no need of a description of the MS 41 here, or of a discussion of its probable date, etc. These may be found in the Introductions of Miller and Schipper. Wanley assigns no date to this piece, and Miller's date for the Bede, "about the time of the Conquest," is sufficiently exact for my present purpose. Wanley says⁵ of the homily: "*Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi. Hec est dies quam fecit dñs, exultemus et letemur in ea.*"

I am able to assign no definite date to the homily, nor have I succeeded in finding out anything about its source⁶ and authorship. Mr. Alfred Rogers, assistant librarian of the Cambridge University Library, and an authority on paleography, thinks "it is no doubt later than the Bede." "I should think," he writes me, "it is XIth century." Judging from the hand, language, and style, I should say the piece belongs about the end of the eleventh century. The frequent use of the phrase *her* (or *hit*) *sagað* in

¹ No. XIV, p. 307.

² No. XV.

³ No. XVIII.

⁴ My purpose in printing this homily is not to forestall Professor Napier, but to make the text immediately accessible for use in my study of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*.

⁵ Catalogue, p. 115.

⁶ These points will doubtless receive adequate treatment from Professor Napier, who has better opportunities for thorough investigation than the present writer.

the earlier part of the text would seem to indicate that the author, whoever he was, had the manuscript of some other piece, and probably of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, before him. I have in the case of both texts tried to follow the MSS closely, never changing a word or letter of the original, where there is a possibility of making sense of the MS reading. The punctuation and use of capitals are, however, my own.

The homily begins on the margin of p. 295 (older pagination 315) and extends through p. 301.

III. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.¹

[*Fol. 87b*] Ðæs² dæiges þe ure Hælend for ure alesednysse geðolede pine on þær halgen³ rode, þa wæs⁴ þære⁵ neh sum were standende, se⁶ wæs Ioseph genæmned; and⁷ he wæs god wer and rihtwis, and næs næfre his willes, þær me⁸ þone Hælend forwreigde⁹ on nanen gemange. He wæs of þære ceastre þe is genæmned Barimathia.¹⁰ He¹¹ onbad¹² on Ierusalem¹³ forð¹⁴ þæt se Hælend¹⁵ wæs ahangen. And to þan¹⁶ æfene he¹⁷ eode to Pilate¹⁸ and abæd æt him Cristes lichame and hine of þære rode genam and on clæne scete bewand¹⁹ and hine on his neowe pruh aleigde, on þære-þe nan oðer mann²⁰ on ne læg.

Þa þa Iudees þæt geherdan, þæt Ioseph hæfde þæs Hælendes lichame abeden, þa sohten heo hine [*Fol. 88a*] and þa twelf cnihtes þe sægden þæt he nære on dernelegere²¹ acænnod, and Nichodemus and manega oðre þe ær mid þam²² Hælende spæcen and his gode weorc gesegen²³ and on hine gelefdan.²⁴ Ealle þær²⁵ heo heom sylfen bedigeledan and

¹ These words, in red ink, appear at beginning of the piece in the MS.

² MS C (i. e., Vespas. D. 14) omits that part of the story corresponding to the first ten pages of MS A, or to the first seven folia (fourteen pages) of MS B. Neither A nor B has anything similar to the first part of this sentence, "*Dæs dæiges þe . . . rode.*"

³ Emendations are inclosed in brackets, and resolutions of MS abbreviations are in italics. *Ðæt* and *and* always appear in MS as *þ* and *7*.

⁴ A, *wæs hym* (480, 23).

⁵ B omits *þær* (481, 31).

⁶ B has *þe* (480, 31).

⁷ A and B omit *and*.

⁸ A, *man*.

⁹ A has *wreigde* (480, 26); B has *wrengde* (481, 33).

¹⁰ So throughout MS C.

¹¹ A has *and he* (480, 28).

¹² A, *geanbidiende wæs godes ryces*; B, *was geandbidigende* (483, 1).

¹³ A omits on *Ier*.

¹⁴ A, *oð* (480, 28).

¹⁵ A, *ðe cryst* (480, 28).

¹⁶ *þan* above line in MS; A omits to *þan æfene*.

¹⁷ B omits *he*.

¹⁸ A, *and he æt Pilate þa Crystes lichaman abæd* (480, 29); B has *abeden* (483, 3), and omits *and hine of . . . lichame abeden*.

¹⁹ A, *befeold* (480, 30).

²⁰ A, *ær on* (480, 32).

²¹ *derne legere*, underlined in MS, but the underlining in this case and the numerous others in the MS seem to have no especial significance. A has *of forligere* (480, 34).

²² So MS; FÖRSTER (p. 317) has *þan*.

²³ A, *geswutelodon* (482, 1).

²⁴ A omits *and on hine gelefdan*. ²⁵ A, *Ealle hig þeh hig sylfe* (482, 1): *æ* in *þær* not italic.

behyddan¹ buten Nichodemus, ane,² for-pan-pe he wæs an ealdor of³ þan Iudeisce folca. Ða com he to heom, þær þær heo heora sammunge hæfdon and cwæð to heom: "Hwy comen ge hider on þysser gesamnunge, þæt ic hit ærre nyste?" Ða andsweredan þa Iudees and cwædan: "Ac hwu wære þu swa dyrstig, þæt þu dorstes innen ure gesamnunga gan, þu þe wære werigend⁴ and⁵ midspecend þan Hælende? Ac seo he æfre mid þe here and ec on þære toweardan wurlde." Nichodemus⁶ cwæð: "Amen! Amen!"

Eallswa gelice Ioseph æfter⁷ hine æteowde and heom to com and puss cwæð; "For hwý synden ge swa unrote ongean me? Is hit for-pan-pe ic abæd þæs Hælendes lichame æt Pilaten? Soð hit is þæt ic hine abæd and on clænen syndonissce⁸ hræigle befeold and hine on minen þrige⁹ geleigde and ætforen¹⁰ þan scræfe mycelne stan ahwylfde. And ic secge to soðen þæt [Fol. ssb] ge nan¹¹ þing wel ne dyden ongean þone rihtwisen, þæt ge hine on¹² rode anhengan and mid spere sticoden."

Ða þa Iudees þæt geherdan, þa gefengan heo hine and heten hine on cwarterne fæste beclýsen and cwæðen to him: "Oncnaw nu and ongit þæt hit þe sceal lytel fremigen, þæt þu topohtest. We wyten þæt þu ne eart næfre wyrðe þæt þu bebyried beo; ac we sculen syllen þin flæsc heofone fugelan and wilde¹³ deoran." Ða Iudees hine þa on cwarterne¹⁴ gebrohten and þa dure fæste belucan; and Annas and Caiphas þa locan fæste¹⁵ geinsegelodan and þærto herdes gesetten and geðoht worhten wið þan ferrædden¹⁶ on¹⁷ hwylcen deaðe heo hine¹⁸ syllen mihten and ofslean. Ac heo nolden for þan restendæige.¹⁹ And heo þa beðohten hwu heo wyrest mihten hine æteon.²⁰

Ða gesamnoden²¹ heo on þan þridden dæige, Annas and Caiphas and ealla heora lyðre geferen,²² and comen²³ to þan cwarterne²⁴ and þa locan

¹ A has *þær ðær hig woldon* (482, 2), for and *behyddan*.

² A, *syfa* (482, 2). B, *an ealder wæs*.

³ A, *on* (482, 3).

⁴ A, *geþwærigende* (482, 8); B omits.

⁵ B omits *and*.

⁶ A, *þa andswarode he and cwæð* (482, 10).

⁷ A, *æfter þam* (482, 11).

⁸ A, *on clænre scytan* (482, 14).

⁹ A, *byrgene* (482, 15).

¹⁰ A, and *þær to* (482, 15).

¹¹ A, *ge wel nā ne dydon* (482, 16).

¹² A omits *on rode*.

¹³ A, *eorðan wyld* (482, 23); A, *fæste on cweart*.

¹⁴ A, *on þam* (482, 24); B omits *þam*.

¹⁵ A omits *fæste*.

¹⁶ A, *myd þam mæssepreostum and myd þam diaconum* (482, 27).

¹⁷ A omits *on*.

¹⁸ A, *hig Ioseph ofslean woldon* (482, 27, 28).

¹⁹ A, *Ac hyt wæs þa on dæg reste dæg, and hig geanbyrdian woldon oð ofer þæne dæg and hig syððan gesomnigean and þa hwyle ymbe þæt ðencan hu* (482, 28-30).

²⁰ A, *hyne teonlycost ateon myhton* (482, 30).

²¹ A, *Ac hyt gewearð þa þæt ða ealdras and þa mæssepreostas ofer þone restedæg hig gesamnodon* (482, 31, 32); B, omits *and þa mæssepreostas* (485, 1).

²² A omits *and ealla heora lyðre geferen, and*.

²³ A, *wæron forðgangende* (482, 33).

²⁴ A, *to þære clusan, þær þær hig Ioseph beclýsed hæfdon* (482, 33, 34).

unseigeloden and mid¹ þan cæigen þa locan unlucan. Ac heo þærinne Ioseph² ne³ funden. Ða⁴ wundre [*Fol. 89a*] den heo ealle⁵ and wurðen⁶ afyrhte. Onmang⁷ þan þa⁸ stod þære sum of þan cæmpen þe scolden habben⁹ gehealden þæs Hælendes byrigene, and heo sæden¹⁰ hwylc eorðstyrung heom com to. And Godes ængel heo þær¹¹ gesegen swylce lege-ræsc¹² and his hreaf¹³ swylce snau; and “we¹⁴ wurden ealle afyrhte and þær lægen swylce we deade wæren, and we geherdan þone ængel cweðen¹⁵ to þan wifen þæt¹⁶ Godes sune wære of deaðe arisen.” And se ængel cwæð, “Ne ondræde ge eow,¹⁷ for-þan ic wat þæt ge þone Hælend seceð.¹⁸ Ac he nis na her, ac¹⁹ he is arisen swa swa²⁰ he ær beforen²¹ sægde. Ac cumeð and²² sceawigeð²³ hwar²⁴ he aleigd wæs, and fareð hraðe and secgeð his leorningenihten þæt heora Hlaford is of deaðe arisen,²⁵ and þæt heo cumen²⁶ to him on Galileam, þær heo hine mugen geseon swa²⁷ swa he heom ær sægde.”²⁸ Ða Iudees, þa heo þæt geherden, heo leten raðe ealle þa cæmpen heom to gefeccen²⁹ þe þæs Hælendes byrigene scolden³⁰ healden and heom to cwæden: “Hwar³¹ is se Hælend þe eow betæht wæs? Oððe hwære synd³² þa [*Fol. 89b*] wif þe se ængel wiðspæc? Witodlice³³ se Hælend is arisen of deaðe; ac³⁴ for hwan ne heolde ge þa wif³⁵ þe þider comen?” Ða cæmpen heom andswereden and cwæden: “We nysten hwæt þa wif wæron, ne we hit wyten ne mihten,

¹ A, and þa cægan, and þa duru geopenigende (484, 1).

² A, Ac þær næs na Ioseph inne funden (484, 1, 2).

³ An erasure of two letters between ne and funden.

⁴ Before this sentence A has Ða þæt folc þæt gehyrdon (484, 2).

⁵ A omits ealle.

⁶ A, wæron (484, 3).

⁷ A, Ac amang (484, 3).

⁸ A, þe hig ymbe þæt spræcon and ymbe þæt wundredon (484, 3, 4); B, þam hy ymbe þæt specon (485, 6).

⁹ A omits habben, and has order, þe ðæs hælendes byrgene healdan sceoldon (484, 5).

¹⁰ A, and cwæð sona, “þæt ic wat þa we þæs hælendes byrgene heoldon, þa wearð mycel eorðstyrung;” C changes from direct to indirect discourse (484, 5, 6).

¹¹ A omits þær.

¹² C omits two lines of A, hu he þone stan . . . þæt his ansyn wæs (484, 7-9).

¹³ A, reaf wæron (484, 9).

¹⁴ A, swa þæt we wæron afyrhte, þæt we (484, 10).

¹⁵ A, cweðende (484, 11).

¹⁶ A, þe to ðæs Hælendes byrgene comon (484, 12); A omits þæt . . . arisen, and has he cwæð, “Ne ondræde,” etc.

¹⁷ A, eow nā (484, 13).

¹⁸ C omits þonne þe (B, he) onhangen wæs (484, 14).

¹⁹ A omits ac.

²⁰ A, eal swa (484, 15).

²¹ A, foresæde.

²² and added above line by later hand.

²³ A, geseoð.

²⁴ A, þa stowe þe he on (484, 16).

²⁵ A, arysen of deaðe (484, 17).

²⁶ A, and ys hig forestæppende on Galilean (484, 18).

²⁷ A, eall (484, 19).

²⁸ A, foresæde (484, 19).

²⁹ A, wæron heom to geclypigende ealle þa cæmpan (484, 20).

³⁰ A omits scolden.

³¹ A does not have Hwar . . . betæht wæs.

³² A, Hwæt wæron þa wyf (484, 22).

³³ A does not have Witodlice . . . of deaðe.

³⁴ A, and for hwylcon þynгон (484, 22).

³⁵ A, hig, and does not have þe . . . comen (484, 23).

for-þan-þe we wæron onfyrrhte,¹ þæt we þær lagen swylce we deade wæron for þæs ængles ansyne,² and for-þan we þa wif gefon ne mihten." Ða cwæden þa Iudees: "Beo ure Scyppende,³ we ne⁴ gelefeð eow na." Ða weardmænn⁵ andsweredan: "Hwy nolden ge belefen⁶ on hine?⁷ Witodlice⁸ he wæs Godes sune." Ða cwæden þa Iudeas: "Bute ge us þæs Hælendes lichame gesyllen, ge sculen on yfele deaðe þrowigen." Ða⁹ weardmæn andswereden: "Æteowið¹⁰ us Ioseph þe ge on cwarterne¹¹ beclysdan, and we eow gesylleð¹² þone Hælend." "Josep¹³ we mugen begyten; he¹⁴ is on his ceastre on Barimathia." Ða cæmpen andswarodan¹⁵: "Gyf Ioseph is on¹⁶ Barimathia, þonne is¹⁷ se Hælend on Galilea, swa swa¹⁸ se ængel þan wifen sæigde."

Ða¹⁹ wurden heo ealle afyrrhte²⁰ and cwæden²¹: "Gyf piss cuð²² byð þæt se Hælend of deaðe arisan beo,²³ þonne eall to feale wylleð [*Fol. 90a*] on hine²⁴ gelefen." And heo gegaderedan mycelne sceatt²⁵ and geafon²⁶ heom, and bæden þæt²⁷ heo scolden²⁸ secgen þæt²⁹ his cnihtes comen³⁰ and þone lichame heom³¹ forstælen, þa-þa heo slæpende wæron. "And gyf hit cuð byð Pilaten,³² we byð for eow and eow hoglease³³ gedoð."

¹ A does not have *onfyrrhte þæt we þær lagen*; B, *wæron gewordene* (485, 27).

² A, *ege and for þære gesyhðe þe we þær gesawon* (484, 26).

³ A, *swa us Dryhten lybbe* (484, 28).

⁴ A, *ne gelyfe we* (484, 28).

⁵ A, *þa andswaredon þa cæmpan* (484, 29); C omits two lines of A, *and cwædon . . . and gehyrdon* (484, 29, 30).

⁶ A, *gelyfan* (484, 31).

⁷ A, *þone þe ge gelyfan sceoldon* (484, 31).

⁸ A does not have *Witodlice . . . deaðe þrowigen*.

⁹ *þa . . . andsweredan* above line in MS; C omits several lines of A preceding this clause, *and swa þeh wel . . . þa ne fundon ge hyne nā* (484, 32–486, 4).

¹⁰ A, *Ac on eornost syllon ge us* (486, 4, 5).

¹¹ A, *þære clusan* (486, 5).

¹² A, *syllað eow* (486, 6).

¹³ C omits one line and a half preceding this word, *þe we on þære . . . and cwædon* (488, 6, 7).

¹⁴ A, *for þam ðe Ioseph* (486, 8); on before *Barimathia* not in A.

¹⁵ A, *heom andswaredon and cwædon* (486, 9); B omits *heom andswaredon and*.

¹⁶ On above line in MS; A has on *þære ceastre* (486, 10).

¹⁷ A, *þonne secge we þæt se . . . ys* (486, 10).

¹⁸ A, *eall swa we gehyrdon þæt se engel hyt* (486, 11); B omits *þæt se . . . sæde*.

¹⁹ B, C omit the preceding *þa Iudeas . . . þys gehyrdon* (486, 12).

²⁰ A, *aforhtodon hig and* (486, 13).

²¹ A, *heom betwynan* after *cwædon* (486, 13).

²² A, *Gif þeos spæc to wyde spryngð* (486, 14, 15).

²³ A does not have *þæt se . . . beo þonne*.

²⁴ A, *þone Hælend* (486, 14).

²⁵ A, *Ac ic wat þæt ða Iudeas þa mycel feoh gegaderodon* (486, 15).

²⁶ A, *sealdon þam cæmpan and þus cwædon* (486, 15, 16).

²⁷ C has again indirect where A has direct discourse, *We byddað eow, leofe geferan, þæt* (486, 16).

²⁸ Not in A.

²⁹ A, *swa þæt* (486, 17).

³⁰ A, *comon on nyht and eow slæpendum* (486, 17, 18).

³¹ Not in A.

³² A, *þam deman Pilate cuð byð* (486, 18, 19).

³³ A, *orsorge* (484, 19); cf. FÖRSTER, p. 319.

And heo onfengen¹ þan feo and sæden þæt heom wære se lichame for-stolen. Ac heora leasunge² ealle³ wurðen geupped. Ða⁴ comen þære preo mære weres of Galilea to Ierusalem. Se eldeste wæs mæssepreost and wæs⁵ gehaten Finees, se⁶ oðer Aggeus, se þridde⁷ Preceptor. Heo sæden þæt⁸ heo þone Hælend þe onhangen⁹ wæs gesegen on Galilea,¹⁰ and mid¹¹ his cnihten æt, and wið heom spæc, and Thomas his wunden sceawede.¹² And se Hælend¹³ het heo faren geond eallne middeneart bodigende¹⁴ fulleht on namen þæs fæder and sunen and¹⁵ halgen gastes. And ealle þa-ƿe underfoð¹⁶ fulht, heo habbað ece lif on domes dæige on heofonerice. And þa¹⁷ þa swa ne doð, heo sculen habben hellewite. And he þa on þan feowertihðe dæige his æristes¹⁸ he asteah to heofonerice of Oliuetes¹⁹ dune, and sæde [*Fol. 90b*] þæt he wolde hider cumen on domes dæige and þa rihtwise into heofonerice mid him gelæden and þa synn-fulle in to helle asænden. “And we ne dorsten eow piss forhelen.”

Piss heo atealden eall on heora sinoðe. Ða wurðen heo ealle swyðe sarige and afyrhte. Ða Iudees heo þa hælsodan þurh heora æ hweðer hit soð wære. And heo ealle sworn þæt hit eall soð wære. Ða abæden ealle þa Iudees þæt heo scolden feo nymen and ham gewænden, and na mare hit cyðen on þan lande. And heo sæden þæt heo swa wolden. And heo fengen to þan feo, and heo leten heo læden of þan lande preo oðre weres, þæt heo nane hwile on Ierusalem wunigen ne mosten.

Annas and Caiphas²⁰ cwæden to eallen þan sinoðe²¹: “Nis hit na²² soð

¹ A, Ða cempan þa wæron þæt feoh onfonde and swa secgende, swa hig fram þam Iudeum gelærede wæron (486, 20, 21).

² A, spræc (486, 21).

³ Comes after *Ac* in A.

⁴ C omits *and gewydmærsod . . . nywan þæt* (486, 22); A, *ðær cōmon of Galilean to Hierusalem þry* (486, 23).

⁵ A, *his nama wæs* (486, 24).

⁶ A, *and his geferan hatton* (486, 25).

⁷ A, *and oðer* (= *se þridde*).

⁸ C omits *þam ealdrum . . . synoðe comon* (486, 26, 27).

⁹ A, *þone onhangena Hælend* (486, 28).

¹⁰ Not in A.

¹¹ A, *wyð hys endlufon leorningcnyhtas spæc and tomyddes heom sæt on Oliuetis munte, and wæs heom to cweðende* (486, 28-30).

¹² and *Thomas . . . sceawede* not in A.

¹³ A has simply *Beoð faren* (486, 30).

¹⁴ A, *and bodiað eallum þeodum þæt hig beon gefullode* (486, 31).

¹⁵ A, *and þæs halgan* (486, 32); A omits *þæs* before *fæder*.

¹⁶ A, *Swa hwyle swa gelyfð and gefullod byð, se byð æfre on ecnysse hal geworden* (486, 32, 34).

¹⁷ *þa þa swa . . . hellewite* not in A.

¹⁸ A, *and þa he þys to his leorningcnyhtum gespecen hæfde, we gesawon hu he wæs on heofenas astigende* (486, 34, 35).

¹⁹ For several lines the thought differs much, and the language almost entirely, from A (488, 1-12), so that we cannot at all doubt that the author of version C frequently proceeded independently of the other versions and the original Latin.

²⁰ A, *þa cwædon* (488, 12).

²¹ to . . . *sinoðe* not in A.

²² A, *næfre* (488, 13).

þæt þa cæmpen¹ sæigden þæt se Hælend of deað arise. Ac wæron² his þegnes cumen and heom feo geafen and þone Hælend³ forstælen." Nichodemus þa upstod and⁴ cwæð: "Wyteð þæt ge riht specan beo Israele bearnen. Wel ge geherdan hwæt þa þreo weres sæden þe of Galilea comen beo þan Hælende."⁵ Þa Iudees⁶ smeaden hware Elias⁷ se witega wære. Eliseus⁸ heom sæde⁹ þæt he on [Fol. 91a] heofone¹⁰ wære. Þa cwæden heo¹¹ sume þa get¹²: "Wen is þæt he seo on¹³ Israele monte gesett mid his gaste. Ac uten us weres geceosan and þa montes gefaren,¹⁴ wealte¹⁵ þeh we hine mugen gefinden."¹⁶ Heo¹⁷ bæden þa Heliseum and þa¹⁸ weres þe þær betst¹⁹ wæron, þæt heo scolden faren and Helias secen. And heo ferdon²⁰ on þa muntas þreore dagene fæc, ac heo hine finden²¹ ne mihten; ac²² heo²³ gemetten Iosep on Barimathia on²⁴ his agenre ceastre. Þa²⁵ heo ham comen þa sæden heo hwu heo gefaren hæfden, and hwu heo hine finden ne mihten, and hwu heo Ioseph funden on his agene ceastre.

Þa²⁶ wæron þa ealdres and þa mæssepreostas and eall þæt folc swyðe bliðe; and²⁷ heo²⁸ maceden mycele somnunge and gemot²⁹ hwu³⁰ heo Ioseph to heom gelaðigen mihten, and sænden an gewrit to him þuss gewriten: "Sibb seo mid þe Iosep and mid eallen þan³¹ þe mid þe byð

¹ A, *þæt we gelyfan sceolon þam cempon þe ðæs Hælendes byrgene healdan sceoldon* (488, 13, 14).

² A, *ac ys bet wen þæt hys cnyhtas comon* (488, 14, 15).

³ A, *þæs Hælendes lichaman aweg namon* (488, 15, 16).

⁴ A, *þus cw.* (488, 16).

⁵ C has here condensed into three words as many lines of A, *þa hig sædon . . . on heofenas astigende* (488, 18-21).

⁶ A, *þa smeadon* (488, 21).

⁷ A, *se wytega wære Helias* (488, 22).

⁸ C omits *and þus cwædon . . . fæder Elias before Eliseus* (488, 22, 23).

⁹ A, *andswarode and cwæð* (488, 23).

¹⁰ A, *He ys up ahafen* (488, 23, 24).

¹¹ A does not have *heo*.

¹² These words, *þa get*, correspond to a line in A, *þe ðar amang . . . bearn ac* (488, 24, 25).

¹³ A, *gaste up ahafen and on uppan* (488, 25, 26).

¹⁴ A, *eond faran* (488, 27).

¹⁵ A, *weald* (488, 27).

¹⁶ A, *gemetan magon* (488, 28).

¹⁷ A, *þæt folc* (488, 28).

¹⁸ A, *þa ylcan* (488, 28).

¹⁹ A, *ðar swa spæcon . . . sceoldon* (488, 29).

²⁰ A, *sona eond þa muntas foron* (488, 30).

²¹ A, *nahwær fyndan* (488, 31).

²² C omits about nine lines of A, *þa cwæð Nichodemus . . . nahwar ne gemetton* (488, 31-490, 5).

²³ A, *we* (490, 5).

²⁴ on above line in later hand; not in A.

²⁵ From here to end of paragraph does not correspond to anything in A (490, 5, 6).

²⁶ A, *þa ða ealdras and þa mæssepreostas and eall þæt folc þys gehyrde, þa gefægnodon hig* (490, 6, 7).

²⁷ Before this clause C omits about two lines of A, *and wuldor sædon . . . wæs funden* (490, 7-9).

²⁸ A, *þæt folc worhte þa* (490, 9).

²⁹ and *gemot* not in A.

³⁰ *hwu . . . gewriten* corresponds to four or five lines of A, *and heom betweenan . . . þus awryten* (490, 10-15).

³¹ Not in A.

wunigende.¹ We wyten þæt we gesyged habbeð, ægðer gea on gean² þe, ge on gean God. Ac we biddeð þe þæt³ þu cume to us⁴ for þinre miltse.⁵ [*Fol. 91b*] We wyten þæt we awergendlic geðanc on gean þe pohten, þa-þa⁶ we þe beclysden and belucan on cwarterne.”⁷

Þa ærendracen comen⁸ and him þæt gewrit on hand sealden, and he hit⁹ rædde and cwæð: “Seo gebletsod se¹⁰ þe nolde þæt min blod wære gespillod; þæt is, se Drihten Crist,¹¹ þe me under his fideren gescillde.” Þa Ioseph up astod and þa weres cyste and heo¹² wurdlice underfeng. Þa on morgen¹³ ferde¹⁴ Ioseph to Ierusalem mid geleafe¹⁵ and mid þan ærendracan ealle on¹⁶ heora assen ridende.¹⁷

Þa þæt folc of þære ceastre þæt geherde¹⁸ þæt Ioseph wæs gecumen, þa comen heo ealle him togeanes and cwædon: “La, fæder Ioseph, sibb sy mid þe¹⁹ and on þine ingange.” Ioseph heom andswered¹⁹ and cwæð: “Sibb seo mid eallen þan mannen þe God²⁰ lufigeð.” And heo ealle to him abugen²¹ and hine cysten. Nichodemus²² þa mid wurðscipe hine to his byrig onfeng.

On morgen²³ ealle þa²⁴ Iudees, Annas and Caiphas and preostes²⁵ and diacones,²⁶ hine bæden þæt he scolde heom swuteligen.²⁷ “And secge us hwu²⁸ þu þæs Hælendes lichame bebyredest [and] hwu þu of þære cluse come þe we þe on beclysden.²⁹ Þa³⁰ we [*Fol. 92a*] þe ne funden, þa³¹ us

¹ For *byð* wunigende A has *syndon* (490, 16).

² A, *ge on God ge on þe* (490, 17).

³ A, *þe on eornest þæt ðu gemedemige þe* (490, 17, 18).

⁴ A, *þinum fæderum and to þinum bearnum* (490, 18).

⁵ *þinre miltse* not in A; but, for *þon þe ealle wundriað þynre upahafennysse* (490, 19).

⁶ *þa þa we . . . on cwarterne* not in A.

⁷ C here omits several lines of A, *ac Dryhten þe onfeng . . . fram eallum folce* (490, 20-23).

⁸ A, *þa foron and to Iosepe Comon and hyne gesybsumlice gretton and heora gewryt hym* (490, 23, 24).

⁹ A, *And þa Ioseph þæt gewryt rædde, þa cwæð he* (490, 25).

¹⁰ A, *Se Dryhten God, se ðe me alyse and myn blod nolde lætan ageotan* (490, 26).

¹¹ A, *and sig gebletsod se ðe me* (490, 27).

¹² o in *heo* above line in MS.

¹³ A, *þa ðam oðrum dæge* (490, 29).

¹⁴ A, *þa wæs Ioseph farende* (490, 30).

¹⁵ *mid geleafe* and not in A.

¹⁶ A, *uppan* (490, 31).

¹⁷ Not in A.

¹⁸ A, *and þa Iudeas, þa hig þæt gehyrdon, ealle on gean urnon and wæron clypigende and cweðende* (492, 31, 32).

¹⁹ A, *myd þinum ingange* (490, 33). MS, *andswered*.

²⁰ A, *myd eallum Godes folce* (490, 34).

²¹ A, *and hig þa hym genealcæhton* (490, 35).

²² *and Nich. hyne . . . ham to hys huse afeng* (490, 35-492, 1).

²³ A, *þam oðrum dæge ða* (492, 1, 2).

²⁴ *ealle þa Iudees* not in A.

²⁵ A, *Nichodemus* (492, 2).

²⁶ *and diacones* not in A, but *cwædon to Iosepe* (492, 2, 3).

²⁷ A, *Lā we byddað þe þæt ðu sylle andetnyse þam soðan Gode, and geswutela us ealle þa þing þe ðu fram us acsod byst* (492, 3, 4).

²⁸ A, *ærst þu ðe þæs etc.* (492, 5).

²⁹ A, *beclysed hæfdon* (492, 6, 7).

³⁰ C omits for *þam . . . wundrigende wæron* (492, 7).

³¹ A, *and us fyrhto*.

mycel fyrht forgrap and ege.¹ Gode² fæder sæge³ hit us." Ioseph cwæð to heom:⁴ "Ða-þa⁵ ic beclysed wæs, þa feng ic on mine gebeden⁶ forð to þære middre⁷ nihte. Ða wæs þæt hus beo þan feower hyrnen up onhafen, and ic þone Hælend þa⁸ geseh eall swylc hit legeræsc wære; and ic for þan ege niðer on⁹ eorðen afeoll, and he me beo þære hand geheold and up ahof and me gecyste and cwæð to me: 'Ne ondræd þu þa,¹⁰ Ioseph; besih on me and ongeot þæt ic hit eam.' Þa beseh ic and cwæð: 'Eart þu þæt¹¹ Elias, ure larðeign?' Þa cwæð he to me: 'Ne¹² eam ic na Elias; ac ic eam se Hælend þe þu his lichame bebyredest.' Þa cwæð ic to him: 'Æteowe me þa byrigeles¹³ hwar ic þe leigde.' Se Hælend me¹⁴ þa beo þære rihthand genam and me ut lædde hwar¹⁵ ic hine byrede, and syððen he lædde me to Barimathia, to minre¹⁶ agenre rice and cwæð:¹⁷ 'Sibb seo mid þe and¹⁸ mid pinen hirde, Ioseph, and ne far þu na¹⁹ of pinre rice²⁰ ær binnen feowertig²¹ dagena fæce. Ic wylle to Galileam²² to minen cnihten gan'²³ [*Fol. 92b*].

Ða þa Iudees eall piss geherdan,²⁴ þa feollan heo adun an cwædon:²⁵ "Hwæt mæg piss tacne beon þe on Israele lande geworden is? We cuðen²⁶ æigðer gea fæder gea moder þæs Hælendes. Mihte²⁷ piss eall beon soð geworden?" Ioseph þa up stod and cwæð to Annam and²⁸ Caipham: "Soð²⁹ is to wundrigenne þæt he³⁰ of deaðe is³¹ arisen. Witodlice³² feale manna he of deaðe awehte on³³ his æriste, and heo of heora byrigene arærde, and³⁴ sume heo eac lifes wæron. Ealle³⁵ we cuðen þone rihtwisen³⁶ Simeon³⁷ þe urne³⁸ Drihten bær on his earmen into þan³⁹ temple,

¹ and ege not in A.

² C omits *þa ða we . . . næfdon* (492, 8, 9).

³ A, and *geswutelæ us eall hu hyt be ðe geworden ys* (492, 9).

⁴ A, *hym andswarode and cwæð* (492, 10); C omits *Efne . . . wylle* (492, 10).

⁵ A, *Hyt wæs on dæg þa ge me beclysdon æt þam gewordenan æfne ic on . . . feng* (492, 11, 12),

⁶ C omits *and hig georne sang* (492, 12).

⁷ A, *oð hyt to þære myddere nyhte com* (492, 12, 13).

⁸ þa not in A.

⁹ A, on *þa* (492, 15).

¹⁰ A, *ðe na* (492, 17).

¹¹ A, *la lareow* (492, 18).

¹² Ne . . . na *Elias* not in A, but in B.

¹³ A, *byrgene* (492, 20).

¹⁴ me just before *genam* in A.

¹⁵ hwar . . . he lædde me not in A.

¹⁶ A, on *myn agen hus* (492, 22).

¹⁷ A, *cw. to me* (492, 23).

¹⁸ and mid *pinen hirde* not in A.

¹⁹ na not in A.

²⁰ A, *huse* (492, 24).

²¹ A, *ær on þon feowertigedæn dæg* (492, 24).

²² to *Galil.* not in A.

²³ A, *Ic wylle gan* (492, 24); A, *leorningcnyhtum* (492, 25).

²⁴ þa *aforkodon hig and sume* (492, 26).

²⁵ A, *heom betwynan cw.* (492, 26).

²⁶ A, *cunnon þæs Hælendes* (492, 27).

²⁷ Mihte . . . geworden not in A.

²⁸ A, and to (492, 29).

²⁹ A, *To soðon wel hyt* (492, 30).

³⁰ C omits *þæt ge be . . . gehyred habbað* (492, 30).

³¹ A, *aras* (492, 31).

³² C omits and *lyfigende on . . . deaðe aryse* (492, 32); for *witodlice* A has *ac he*.

³³ on his *æriste* not in A.

³⁴ and *sume . . . wæron* not in A.

³⁵ C omits and *hlýstað me nu ða* (492, 33).

³⁶ A, *eadeگان* (492, 34).

³⁷ C omits and *þone mæran mæssepreost þe* (492, 34).

³⁸ A, *ðone Hælend ærost . . . bær* (492, 35),

³⁹ A, *þam halgan* (494, 1); þe *ærre þan lame wæs* not in A.

þe ærre þan lame wæs. Wel we cuðen¹ his twegen sunen, Carinus and Leuticius, þe wæron for feale gearen² deade. Ga we lochigen:³ nu byð heora byrigene opene, and heo synden inne⁴ þære ceastre Barimathia samod libbende⁵ and God⁶ herigende. Ac uten faren⁷ to heom mid eallen eadmodnysse⁸ and wurðmynte and gelæden heo to us and bidden⁹ heom for heora Drihtenes name þæt heo wið us specan and us atellen ealle þa geryna þe heo Godes¹⁰ æriste gewordene wæron.”¹¹
[*Fol. 93a*]

Ða-þa Ioseph hæfde¹² þuss gespecan, þa wæs eall þæt folc blissi- gende¹³ wið him and to Barimathia þære ceastre ferdan,¹⁴ and þære gewyten wolden hweðer hit soð wære þæt Ioseph sæde.¹⁵ Ða¹⁶ heo þider comen, Annas and Caiphas,¹⁷ Nichodemus¹⁸ and Gamaliel, þa eodan heo to þære byrigene and funden heo æmtig.¹⁹ And þa eodan²⁰ heo into þa ceastre and gemetten Carinus²¹ and Leuticius²¹ on gebedan licgende²² mid gebegedan cneowen; and heo²³ sone ealla²⁴ cysten and mid²⁵ arwurðunge²⁶ to Ierusalem to heora sinoðe²⁷ gelaðoden.²⁸ And þær inne belocanen geaten heo wæron nymenda þa boc þe seo drihtenlice æ wæs on gewriten, and heom on hand setten and þuss cwædon: “We hælsigeð eow þurh þone uplicen God and þurh þa drihtenlice æ þe ge gehealden²⁹ habbeð, þæt gyf ge gelefeð on þan ilcan þe eow of deaðe arærde,³⁰ þæt³¹ ge secgen us hwu ge of deaðe arisen.”³²

Carinus and Leuticius heom andsweredan.³³ Ða eldres and þa mæs- sepreostes heom þa funden blæc and feðere,³⁴ and me heo todælde³⁵ on twa

¹ A, and ealle we wyton þæt he . . . hæfde, þa wæron hatene se oðer Carinus and se oðer Leuticus (494, 2).

² A, and ealle we þæt wyton þæt hig deade wæron, and we to heora byrgyne comon (494, 3, 4).

³ A, Uton eac nu gān and we magon heora byrgena opene fyndan (494, 4, 5).

⁴ A, on (494, 5).

⁵ A, gebyddende (494, 6).

⁶ A, and wyð nanne man sprecende; and swylce swigean healdende swa þæt hig wyð nanne man ne sprecað (494, 6-8).

⁷ A, we gan and cuman (494, 8).

⁸ eadmodnysse and not in A; and added above line in MS.

⁹ A, and hig georne halsian þæt (494, 9).

¹⁰ heora (494, 11).

¹¹ A, syndon.

¹² A, eall þys þus gesprečen hæfde (494, 12).

¹³ A, þæt folc hym wæs geblissigende (494, 12).

¹⁴ A, farende (494, 13).

¹⁵ A, gesprečen hæfde (494, 14).

¹⁶ A, Ac þa ða (494, 14).

¹⁷ A, þa eodan to þære byrgene, etc. (494, 15).

¹⁸ C omits and Ioseph (494, 16).

¹⁹ A, Ac hig þær nænne man on ne fundon (494, 16, 17).

²⁰ A, Hig wæron þa innor on þa ceastre gangende (494, 16); B Hyg eode (495, 19).

²¹ A, hig (494, 18).

²² A, licgan (494, 18).

²³ A, hig hig (494, 19).

²⁴ ealla not in A.

²⁵ A, myd ealre (494, 19).

²⁶ C omits and myd Godes ege hig (494, 20).

²⁷ A, gesomnunge to Hier. (494, 21).

²⁸ A, gelæddon (494, 21).

²⁹ A on handan (494, 25).

³⁰ A, awehte (494, 26).

³¹ þæt ge not in A; but secgað (494, 26).

³² A, arysene wurdon (494, 26).

³³ C omits and þus cwædon ‘We wyllaþ eac; syllað us eac þa cartan, þæt we hyt magon on awrytan þæt ðæt we gehyrdon and eac gesawon (494, 27-29).

³⁴ A, cartan (for blæc and feðere) fundon (494, 30).

³⁵ C omits and eall þæt ðær to gebyrede (494, 30); A does not have and me . . . æigðer.

and mycel folcas mid heora [*Fol. 93b*] æigðer. Ða cwæð¹ Carinus and Leuticius: "Drihten Crist,² ure Hælend, þu eart lif and ærist eallre deadre. We biddeð³ þæt þu us geðafige þæt we þa soðe geryne⁴ mugen geswutelien þe geworden e synd þurh þe⁵ and þurh þinne deað and þurh þinne ærist." Heom⁶ com þa stefne of heofone þuss⁷ cweðende: "Beo Godes mihte⁸ and leafe writað and geswutelieð eallen⁹ mannen." Carinus¹⁰ and Leuticius þa ongunnen¹¹ writen: "Efne we¹² wæron þa mid eallen uren fæderen on þære deopen helle,¹³ þær becom mycel¹⁴ brihtnysse ofer¹⁵ us ealle swylce sunne leome. Sathanas¹⁶ and eall hellewerod¹⁷ wæron afyrhte and * þuss cwædon: "Hwæt is þiss liht þæt her swa¹⁸ færllice scinð?" Ða wæs sone eall þæt mænnisc cynn blissigende and¹⁹ Adam mid eallen hehfæderen and²⁰ witegan for þan mycelan lihte,²¹ and heo þuss cwæden: "Þiss liht is of Godes²² lihte, eallswa us God²³ behet þæt he us þæt ece lif²⁴ and liht asænden wolde," Ða clypode Isaias, se witega, and cwæð: "Þiss is þæt fæderlice liht ætforen²⁵ Godes sune hider asændod, swa²⁶ ic forsæde, þa-þa²⁷ ic on eorðe wæs, þa ic cwæð and forewitegode þæt þæt land Zabulon and²⁸ Neptalim wið þæt [*Fol. 94a*] wæter²⁹ Iordanen and þæt folc þe on³⁰ þeostre³¹ sæten, scolden habben³² mare liht. Þiss ic witegode on eorðe, and nu hit is gecumen³³ to us and us onliht þe³⁴ gefyrn on deaðes dimnysse sæten. Ac uten we³⁵ nu ealle blissigen þæs lihtes."

¹ A, *Karinus and Leuticus heom wæron þa ða cartan onfonde heora ægðer ðne and þus cwædon* (494, 31, 32).

² A, *La Dryhten Hælenda Cryst* (494, 32).

³ A, *byddað þe þæt* (494, 34).

⁴ A, *þæt we magon þa godcundan gerynu geswutelian*.

⁵ *þurh þe* and not in A.

⁶ C omits *La ðu myldosta . . . þe alyf hyt us* (496, 1-4).

⁷ A, and wæs þus (496, 4).

⁸ *Beo Godes mihte and leafe* not in A.

⁹ A, *geswutelieð hyt; eallen mannen* not in A.

¹⁰ C omits *Hig þa swa dydon* (496, 5).

¹¹ A, *þus hyt awryton and þus cwædon* (496, 6).

¹² A, *Efne þa we* (496, 6); B *Soðlice þa we* (497, 9).

¹³ A, *hellican deopnysse* (496, 7).

¹⁴ A, *seo* (496, 8).

¹⁵ C omits *on þære þeostre dymnysse . . . geblyssigende wæron* (496, 8, 9); and A has for *ofer us . . . leome, þær wæs færinga* geworden on ansyne, swylce þær gylde sunna onæled wære and ofer us ealle eondlyhte (496, 9-11).

¹⁶ A, and *Sat. þa* (496, 11).

¹⁷ A, *þæt rede werod* (496, 12).

* Written out in MS.

¹⁸ A, *ofer us swa* (496, 13).

¹⁹ A, *ure fæder* (496, 14).

²⁰ A, and *myd eallum* (496, 15).

²¹ A, *beorhtnysse* (496, 16).

²² A, *ys ealdor þæs ecan leohtes* (496, 16, 17).

²³ A, *Dryhten* (496, 17).

²⁴ *lif* and not in A.

²⁵ A, and *hyt ys Godes sunu* (496, 19).

²⁶ A, *eallswa* (496, 19).

²⁷ A has one *þa*.

²⁸ A, and *þæt land Nep.* (496, 21).

²⁹ A, *þa ea*.

³⁰ A, on *þam* (496, 22).

³¹ Difficult to determine whether MS. has *þeostre* or *þeastre*.

³² A, *sceolden mære leoht geseon* (496, 22).

³³ A, and *þa ðe on dymnum rýce wunedon ic witegode þæt hig leoht sceoldon onfon and nu* (496, 23, 24).

³⁴ A, *þa ðe* (496, 25).

³⁵ *we nu* not in A.

Simeon se rihtwise¹ mid blisse heom to cwæð: 'Wuldrieð þone Drihten Crist, Godes sune, þone-þe ic bær on minen earmen into þan temple; and ic þa þus cwæð: "Þu eart liht and frofer ealle þeoden and² murðmynt eallen Israele folca." Þa³ blissode⁴ Adam and eall his ofspryng, þa com þær stefne⁵ swylce þunreslege and⁶ þa halgen ongean clypode:⁷ 'Hwæt eart þu?' And he⁸ cwæð: 'Ic eam Iohannes þæs hehste witegan forrynel,⁹ and her ic bodige¹⁰ ælmihtiges Godes sune hidercyme, swa swa ic on eorðen dyde.' Þa-þa¹¹ he incom, þa brihtode eall helle. Adam wæs þa¹² to his sune cwæðende, þe wæs genæmned Seth:¹³ 'Gerece nu¹⁴ þinen bearnen and¹⁵ hehfæderen ealle þa þing þe þu fram Michael, þan hehængle, geherdest, þa-þa ic þe sende to neorxene-wanges gate, þæt þu scoldest Drihten bidden þæt [*Fol. 94b*] he mid þe his engel asænde, þæt he þe þone ele syllen scolde of þan treowe þære mildheortnysse, þæt þu mihtest minne lichame mide gesmerien, þa-þa ic¹⁶ untrum wæs.'

Seth, Adames sune, wæs¹⁷ nehlæcende þan hehfæderen and þan halgen¹⁸ witegan and cwæð:¹⁹ 'Efne þa ic wæs Drihten biddende æt neorxene-wanges gate, þa æteowde²⁰ Micael, se hehængel, and me to cwæð: "Ic eam asænd fram Drihtene to þe and ic eam asett ofer eall mænnisc lichame. Nu secge ic þe, Seth, ne þeart þu swincan biddende ne þine teares geotende, þæt þu þurfe bidden þone ele of þan treowe þære mildheortnysse, þæt þu Adam þinne fæder mide gesmerigen mote for his lichames sare; for²¹ get ne synden gefyllede²² fif þusend wintre and þa fif hundred,²³ þe sculen beon agane, ær þone²⁴ he gehæled wurde." Þa²⁵ cwæð Adam: 'Nu heo synden gefylde and agane and forðgewitene.'

Hit²⁶ wæs þa²⁷ swyðe grislic and²⁸ egeslic, þa²⁹ Sathanas, þære helle

¹ A, *Se wytega þa Sym. heom eallum geblyssigendum* (496, 26).

² A, *and þu eart wuldor and* (496, 30).

³ C omits *Symeone þa ðus . . . þæra halgena* (496, 31).

⁴ A, *wea.ð swyðe geblyssigende* (496, 32); *Adam and eall his ofspryng* not in A.

⁵ *Stefne* not in A, which has *and æfter þam þær com swylce* (496, 33).

⁶ A, *and ealle þa* (496, 33).

⁷ C omits *and cwædon* (496, 34).

⁸ A, *Seo stefen heom andswarode and cwæð* (496, 34).

⁹ *forrynel* not in A.

¹⁰ A, *and ic eom cumen toforan hym þæt ic his weg as gegearwian sceal, and geican þa hæle hys folces* (498, 1-2).

¹¹ *Þa þa . . . eall helle* not in A.

¹² A, *Adam þa wæs þys gehyrende and to* (498, 2, 3).

¹³ C omits *he cwæð* (498, 3).

¹⁴ *nu* not in A.

¹⁵ A, *and þysum* (498, 4).

¹⁶ A, *ic myð eallum* (498, 10).

¹⁷ A, *wæs þa to* (498, 10).

¹⁸ *halgen* in A before *heahfæderum* (498, 11).

¹⁹ A, *wæs cwæðende* (498, 12).

²⁰ A, *ætywde me* (494, 13).

²¹ A, *for þam ðe gyt* (498, 19).

²² A, *þa fif* (498, 20).

²³ A, *hund wyntra* (498, 20).

²⁴ *þone* not in A.

²⁵ *þa cwæð . . . and forðgewitene* not in A.

²⁶ C omits *Ac þonne cymð . . . and God wuldrigende* (498, 21-26).

²⁷ *þa* not in A.

²⁸ *and egeslic* not in A.

²⁹ A, *þa ða Sathanas* (498, 27).

ealdor,¹ cwæð to² helle: 'Gearca³ þe, helle,⁴ þæt þu muge Crist onfon, se-þe hine sylfne gewuldred hæfð and is Godes sune and eac mann, [Fol. 95a] and ec⁵ is hine ondrædende. And ic⁶ eam swa unroth, þæt me þincð sar min lif,⁷ þæt ic forneh dead eam. He is wiðerwinne⁸ ongean me and⁹ ongean þe. And feale þe ic hæfde to me atogen,¹⁰ bisne¹¹ and healte, lame¹² and reoflen,—ealle he heo¹³ fram me¹⁴ ateah.' Ða seo¹⁵ helle egeslice and grislice¹⁶ andswerede¹⁷ Sathanas þan ealden deofle and cwæð: 'Hwæt is se, þæt seo¹⁸ swa strang and swa mihtig, gyf he man is, þæt he ne seo deað¹⁹ ondrædende, þe wyt gefyrn beclysd hæfden? For-ðen ealle þa-þe anweald²⁰ on eorðe hæfdon, þu heo mid þinre mihte to me getuge and ic heo fæste geheold. And gyf þu²¹ mihtig nu²² eart, swa þu ær wære, hwæt is se mann and se Hælend þe ne seo þone deað and þine mihten ondrædende? Ac to soðen ic wat, gyf he on mænniscnysse swa mihtig is þæt he naðer ne unc, ne þone deað ne ondrætt, þonne²³ gebint²⁴ he þe and þe byð æfre wa syððen.'²⁵ Sathanas þa, þære hellen²⁶ ealder,²⁷ andswerede and²⁸ cwæð: 'Hwæt tweonest þu of þe?²⁹ Hwæt³⁰ ondrædest þu þe þone Hælend to onfone, minne wiðerwinne?³¹ [Fol. 95b] Ic his costnode. Ic gelærde³² eall þæt Iudeisce folc þæt heo wæron ongean him mid eorre and mid ande;³³ and ic dyde þæt he wæs geseald³⁴ and mid spere gesticod; and³⁵ ic dyde þæt man³⁶ treowene rode gearewede and hine þæron anheng and hine mid næiglen gefæstnode; and³⁷ æt nexten ic wylle his deað to þe gelæden, and he sceal beon underfeod,

¹ C omits *and þæs deaðes heretoga*.

² A, *to þære* (498, 28).

³ A, *gegearwa* (498, 28),

⁴ A, *þe sylfe*.

⁵ C omits *se deað* (498, 30); in the preceding line MS has *gewuldred* not *gewuldredð*, as Förster (p. 318, n. 5) reads.

⁶ A, *and myn sawl ys swa* (498, 31).

⁷ A, *þæt ic alybban ne mæg* (498, 31); MS *dead*, not *deað*, as Förster reads.

⁸ A, *For þig he ys mycel wyðerw. and yfel wyrrende* (498, 32).

⁹ A, *and eac* (498, 33).

¹⁰ A, *to gewyld and to* (498, 33).

¹¹ A, *blynde* (498, 34).

¹² A, *gebyggede*.

¹³ heo not in A.

¹⁴ A, *þe* (498, 35).

¹⁵ A, *Seo hell þa*.

¹⁶ A, *swiðe grymme and swyðe egeslice* (498, 35).

¹⁷ A, *andswarode þa Satanase* (500, 1).

¹⁸ A, *þe ys* (500, 2).

¹⁹ A, *þone deað*.

²⁰ A, *on eorðan anweald* (500, 4); but B has same order as C.

²¹ A, *þu swa* (500, 6).

²² nu not in A.

²³ C omits the preceding *þæt ic wat þæt swa . . . hyne ondræt* of A (500, 10-12).

²⁴ A, *gefohð* (500, 12).

²⁵ A, *to ecere worulde* (500, 13).

²⁶ A, *þæs cwycsusles*.

²⁷ A, *þære helle andswarode* (500, 14).

²⁸ A, *and þus*.

²⁹ þu of not in A. ³⁰ C omits *odðe*.

³¹ An erasure of two or three words at the beginning of the first line of fol. 95b; C omits the preceding *and eac þynne; for þon ic* (500, 16).

³² A, *and ic gedyde hym þæt* (500, 17).

³³ A, *andæn awehte* (500, 18).

³⁴ geseald and not in A.

³⁵ C omits and *ic gedyde þæt hym man drincan mengde myd [g]eallan and myd ecede* (500, 19, 20).

³⁶ A, *man hym*.

³⁷ A, *and nu æt* (500, 22).

æigðer gea þe¹ gea me.' Seo helle þa swa² swyðe grislice puss cwæð: 'Wyte þæt þu swa do, þæt he fram me³ þa deaðe ne ateo, for-þan-þe here feale synden þe synden⁴ geornfulle fram me, þæt heo on me wunigen nelleð.⁵ Ac ic wat þæt heo fram me ne gewiteð þurh heora agene mihte, bute heo se ilca⁶ God me benyme⁷ þe me benam Lazarum,⁸ þone-þe ic heold deadne feower niht fæste gebunden, and ic hine eft cwicne ageaf þurh his beboden.' Þa answerede Sathanas and cwæð: 'Se ilca hit is þe Lazarum of deaðe awehte⁹ and of unc bam genam.' Seo helle þa andswerede¹⁰ and cwæð: 'Eala, ic hælsige þe þurh pine mægn and eac þurh minne þæt þu næfre ne geðafie þæt he on inne¹¹ me becume, for-þan ic geheerde [Fol. 96a] þa word his bebodes! Ic wæs mid mycelan ege afyrht and ealle mine arlease þeignes wæron¹² mid me gedrehte,¹³ swa þæt we ne mihten Lazarum gehealden. Ac he wæs hine scacende swa¹⁴ swa earn, þone he wyle¹⁵ mid reðen flihte forð afleon. And he wæs fram us arisende,¹⁶ and seo eorðe þe Lazarus deaden lichame heold, heo hine cwicne ageaf. And þæt ic wat nu,¹⁷ þæt se mann þe eall þæt dyde, he¹⁸ is on Gode strang and mihtig. And gyf þu hine inn¹⁹ gelædest, ealle þa-þe her synd on þyssen wælreowen cwarterne beclysede and on þyssen bænden mid synne gewriðene, ealle he mid his godecundnyse fram us²⁰ atihð and to life gelædeð.'

Eala,²¹ mæn þa leofeste, hwu laðlic and hwu grislic wæs þære deoflene gemot, þa seo helle and se deofel heom betweenen cidden!

"Onmang²² þan þa com þær mycel stefne and gastlic clypigende swylce punreslege, and puss cweðende: 'Attollite portas.'²³ Þæt fers segð:²⁴ 'Ge ealdres, untyned²⁵ þa gaten and upahebbeð þa ændelease²⁶ gaten and læteð inn²⁷ þone wuldrigende Godes sune.' And²⁸ [þa] seo helle þæt geheerde, þa cwæð heo [Fol. 96b] to þan heafde,²⁹ Beelzebub: 'Gewit³⁰ fram me and far of³¹ minre wununge; and gyf þu eart swa mihtig³² swa

¹ A, *ge me ge þe* (500, 23).

² swa not in A.

³ A, *ða deaðan fram me* (500, 25).

⁴ þe synden not in A.

⁵ A, *noldon* (500, 27).

⁶ A, *ælmýhtiga* (500, 28).

⁷ A, *fram me ateo*.

⁸ Lazarum of me genam (500, 29).

⁹ of deaðe awehte and not in A.

¹⁰ A, *Seo h. hym þa ðus to cwæð* (500, 32).

¹¹ A, *in on me* (500, 34); A, *for þam þa ic* (502, 1).

¹² A, *wæron samod myd* (502, 3).

¹³ A, *gedrehte and gedrefede*.

¹⁴ A, *eal swa* (502, 4).

¹⁵ A, *þonne he . . . flyhte wyle* (502, 5).

¹⁶ A, *he swa wæs fram us ræsende* (502, 6).

¹⁷ A, *nu wat* (502, 7).

¹⁸ A, *þæt he* (502, 8).

¹⁹ A, *to me* (502, 9).

²⁰ A, *me* (502, 12).

²¹ This sentence is addition of the C copyist or author, and is one of two passages in the piece that give it the style of a homily.

²² A, *Ac amang þam þe hig þus spræcon, þær wæs stefen and gastlic hream swa hlud swa punres slege and wæs* (502, 12, 13).

²³ A gives the whole verse, *Tollite portas principes vestras et elevamini porte eternas, introibit Rex Gloria* (502, 14, 15).

²⁴ A, *þæt byð on Englisc*.

²⁵ A, *tonymað* (502, 16).

²⁶ A, *ecan* (502, 17).

²⁷ A, *þæt mæge ingan se Cyng þæs ecan wuldres*.

²⁸ A, *Ac*.

²⁹ A, *to þam ealdre, Satane* (502, 18).

³⁰ A, *raðe fram* (502, 19).

³¹ A, *ut of*.

³² A, *swa myhtig eart* (502, 20).

þu ær cwæde,¹ þonne winn þu² ongear hine³ and gewurðe þe and him.⁴ And seo helle þone deofel⁴ ut adraf, and cwæð to þan arleasan þegenen: 'Belucað fæste⁵ þa ændelease⁶ gaten and toforen sceoted þa ærene⁷ and þa irene⁸ scytteles, and him strange⁹ wiðstandeð and piss weorod¹⁰ behealdeð, þæt we ne beon bereafod.'¹¹

Da þæt geherdan þa hehfæderes¹² þe þær inne wæron, þa clypedan¹³ heo ealle anre stefne¹⁴ to þære helle: 'Geopene þine gaten and læt inn¹⁵ þone King, þæs ecan wuldres sune.' Þa cwæð Dauid:¹⁶ 'Piss ic witegode¹⁷ þa ic ofer eorðen wæs cweðende, "Andetteð Drihtene his mildheortnysse, for-þan-þe he wyle his mildheortnysse¹⁸ mannen cyðen." Þa¹⁹ cwæð Isaias:²⁰ 'Ic sæde on eorðen²¹ þæt deade mænn scolden arisen²² and helle scolde beon geheregod²³ and sarignysse eall to blisse gewænd purh wuldres bearn.' Þa þa²⁴ halgen þæt geherden,²⁵ þa blissedan²⁶ heo ealle and to þære²⁷ helle cwæden: 'Geopene þine [*Fol. 97a*] gaten. Þu²⁸ scealt beon untrum and unmihtig and mid eallen oferswiðed.' Þa²⁹ wæs þær geworden³⁰ mycel stefne and mycel³¹ liht swylc þunreslege and þuss cwæð: 'Ge ealdres, geopenigeð³² and untyned eower gaten þæt muge ingan se King þe³³ of heofone is asænd.' Þa geherde³⁴ seo helle þæt hit wæs twygge geclyped, þa cleopode heo ongear and þuss cwæð: 'Hwæt is þes³⁵ King þe is³⁶ gewuldred?' Dauid cwæð and hire andswarede:³⁷ 'Hit is Drihten³⁸ of heofone rice; and piss³⁹ ic on eorðen ærre cwæð, þæt

¹ A, *ymbespræce*.² A, *þu nu*.³ A, *þone wuldres cyning* (502, 21).⁴ A, *þa Satan of hys settlum* (502, 22).⁵ fæste not in A.⁶ A, *wælhreowan and þa ærenan* (502, 23).⁷ þa ærene and not in A.⁸ A, *ysenan* (502, 24).⁹ A, *stranglice*.¹⁰ A, *þa hæftinga* (502, 25).¹¹ A, *gehæfte*.¹² A, *seo mænigeo þæra halgena* (502, 26).¹³ A, *hig clypedon ealle* (502, 27).¹⁴ A, *and cwædon to* (502, 27).¹⁵ A, *þæt mæge ingan se cyning* (502, 28); A omits *sune*.¹⁶ A, *David þa gyt* (502, 29).¹⁷ A, *Ne forewitegode ic eow þa ða ic on eorðan lyfigende wæs?* (502, 30).¹⁸ A, *hys wundra wyle manna bearnum* (502, 31).¹⁹ C omits *and þa ærenan gatu . . . heora unryhtwysnysse* (502, 32-34); A, *Æfter þam þa*.²⁰ A, *se wytega Is. to callum þam halgum þe ðær wæron* (504, 1).²¹ A, *and ne foresæde ic eow þa ða ic on eorðan lyfigende wæs* (504, 2).²² A, *arysan sceoldon* (504, 3).²³ C changes the thought of A entirely, the latter having *and mænige byrgena geopenod weorðan and þa sceoldon geblyssian þe on eorðan wæron, for-þam-ðe hym fram dryhtne hæl scolde cuman* (504, 3, 5).²⁴ A, *Da ealle þa*.²⁵ A, *þys wæron gehyrende fram þam witegan Esaiaim* (504, 6).²⁶ þa . . . ealle and not in A.²⁷ A, *Hig wæron cweðende to* (504, 7).²⁸ A, *nu þu*.²⁹ C omits *heom þa ðus gespreccenum* (504, 8, 9).³⁰ A, *seo mycele* (504, 9).³¹ and *mycel liht* not in A.³² A, *tonimað eowre gatu and upahebbað þa ecan gatu* (504, 11).³³ A, *þæs ecan wuldres* (504, 12).³⁴ A, *Ac seo hell þa þæt gehyrde*.³⁵ A, *se* (504, 14).³⁶ A, *sig wuldres cyning*.³⁷ A, *Dauid hyre andswarode þa and cwæð*.³⁸ A, *þas word ic oncnawe* (504, 15).³⁹ A, *and eac ic þas word gegyddode. þa ða ic on eorðan wæs and ic hyt gecw.*

he scolde¹ of heofone to eorðe and þær geheren þa geomerunga his gebundenra þeowen. Ac nu [þu] fule² and þu stinchende³ helle, geopene raðe⁴ pine gaten, þæt muge ingan þæs ecen wuldres King.' Ða David⁵ þuss gespecan hæfde, þa þærto becom se wulderfulle King on mannes gelicnysse and⁶ þa gaten tobræc and þa þeostre⁷ ealle onlihte and þær þa synbændes⁸ ealle tobræc and⁹ ure ealde fæderes ealle geneosode, þær¹⁰ heo on þan þeostre lange gewuned¹¹ hæfden. Seo¹² helle and se deað and heora arlease þegnes, þa¹³ heo þæt [Fol. 97b] gesegen and geherden, heo wæron forhtigende¹⁴ mid heora wælreowen þeignen, for-þan-þe heo on heora agene riche swa mycele brihtnysse¹⁵ gesegen. Ða gesegen¹⁶ heo hine sitten on þan setle þe he sylf¹⁷ geahnede, þa¹⁸ cwæden heo: 'Nu we synden¹⁹ ealle oferswiðene and ofercumene. Ac sege²⁰ us, hwæt eart þu, þu þe buten ælcere wæmmunge and buten flite²¹ us hæfest ealle ofercumene²² and genyðered? And²³ hwæt eart þu swa mycellic and²⁴ lytel and hehlic,²⁵ and swa wunderlic on anes mannes heowe, þæt²⁶ þu hæfest us ofercumen? Ðu læge²⁷ dead and bebyred, and eart leofigende hider gefaren²⁸ to us. And on pine deaðe ealle tunglen and gesceafte wurden²⁹ gestyrede. And þu eart freols³⁰ geworden betwux eallen oðren deaden, and eall ure werod³¹ þu hæfest swyðe gedrefed, and hæfest nu hider swa mycel³² liht gebroht, and mid pinre³³ brihtnysse synden ealle

¹ A, *þæt se sylfa* Drihten wolde of heofenum on eorðan beseon (504, 17).

² A, *fuluste and þu ful* (504, 19).

³ A, *stincendiste*.

⁴ *raðe* not in A.

⁵ A uses absolute construction, *Dauid þa þus gesprecenum, þærto* (504, 20).

⁶ C omits *þæt wæs ure heofenlica* Drihten while and *þa gaten tobræc* is not in A (504, 22).

⁷ A, *þar þa ecan*.

⁸ A, *he ealle* (504, 23).

⁹ A, *and he* (504, 24).

¹⁰ A, *þær þær*.

¹¹ A, *ær wunigende wæron* (504, 25).

¹² A, *Ac seo*.

¹³ A, *þa ða* (504, 26). The only instance in MS where *þæt* is written out.

¹⁴ A, *aforhtode* (504, 27); A omits *heo*.

¹⁵ C omits *þæs leohtes* (504, 29).

¹⁶ and *hig færinga* Cryst gesawon on þam setle syttan.

¹⁷ A, *him sylfum* geahnod hæfde (504, 30).

¹⁸ A, *and hig wæron clypigende and þus cweðende*.

¹⁹ A, *We syndon fram þe oferswyðde* (504, 31); and *ofercumene* not in A.

²⁰ A, *Ac we acsīað þe* (504, 32).

²¹ A inverts order, *butan ælcen geflyte and butan*.

²² A, *myð þynum mægenþrymme hæfst ure myhte genyðerod* (504, 34).

²³ A, *Oððe*.

²⁴ and *eac swa* (504, 35).

²⁵ A, *and swa nyðerlic, and eft up swa heah*.

²⁶ A, *us to oferdryfenne* (506, 1).

²⁷ A, *Hwæt ne eart þu se ðe lage dead on byrgene* (506, 2).

²⁸ A, *to us cumen* (506, 3).

²⁹ A, *ealle eorðan gesceafte and ealle tungla syndon* (506, 4).

³⁰ *freols* (A, *freoh*) use *das* as an adjective.

³¹ A, *eoredu* (506, 6).

³² A, *and hwæt eart þu þe hæfst þæt leoht hyder eond send*.

³³ A, *and myð þynre godcundan myhte and beorhtnysse hæfst ablend þa synfullan bystro* (506, 7).

þas þeostre gelihte. And eac¹ gelice ealla þas ealdres² þysere helle synden swyðe afyrhte.’

“Þa³ wæron þa deofle ealle clypigende anre stefne and⁴ cwæðen:

Hwanen eart þu, la Hælend, swa strang mann and swa [Fol. 98a] briht on mæigne,⁵ and wunigende⁶ buten ælcon lehtre⁷ and clæne fram ælcon wæmme? Eall⁸ middeneard us wæs simle underðeodd forð þæt⁹ nu. Eornestlice¹⁰ we axigeð¹¹ hwæt þu seo, þu þe swa unforht us eart to gecumen and wylt¹² us benymen eall þæt we hider habbeð gestrynd, [and] fif þusend¹³ and fif hundred wintre on pine and on synbænde gebroht hæfden? Hweðer hit wen seo, þæt þu seo se ilca Hælend þe Sathanas embe spæc,¹⁴ ure ealder, and sægde þæt he wolde þurh¹⁵ pine deað anweald habben ealles middeneardes?’

“Ac se wulderfæste Cyng and ure heofonlice Hlaford nolde¹⁶ pære deoflena gemaðeles na¹⁷ mare hlysten,¹⁸ for¹⁹ þan heo wolden mid heora maðele hine dreccen. And Beelzebub fleah þa into helle botme, and ure Drihten him strangode æfter and hine befran hwy he swa swyðe nyðer his setle gecure, and ære cwæð þæt eall wuld wæs his. And he hine²⁰ gegrap þa²¹ and²² fæste geband mid²³ anes draca bæcinge and hine pær helle sealde on anweald to²⁴ habbene aa buten ænde.”

Eala²⁵ mæn, hwu grislic hit wæs þa-þa seo deo[Fol. 98b]fellice helle pone feond, Beelzebub, underfeng and hine fæste geheold! For-þan se deofol wæs ær pære helle hlaford and eallra pære deofellicre þingen þe hire on wæron.

“Þa cwæð seo helle²⁶: ‘La þu ealdor eallra forspillednysse, for²⁷ hwy dyrstlæhtest þu pone²⁸ Hælend to nymene and on þa Iudeas besændest

¹ eac not in A.

² A, þas eoredu þysa deofla (506, 9).

³ A, and hig wæron þa ealle þa (506, 10).

⁴ and cwæðen not in A.

⁵ A, mægenþrymme (506, 12).

⁶ and wunigende not in A.

⁷ A, butan ælcon womme and swa clæne fram ælcon leahtra (506, 13).

⁸ A, eall eorðan.

⁹ A, oð (for forð þæt).

¹⁰ A, And earnostl. (506, 14).

¹¹ A, þe hwæt eart þu.

¹² A, and þar to eacan us wylt fram atean ealle þa ðe we gefyrn on bendum heoldon (506, 15).

¹³ fif þusend and fif hundred wintre on pine not in A; and fif hundred above line.

¹⁴ A has different order, ure ealdor ymbe spæc (506, 18).

¹⁵ A has different order, ðurh þynne deað he wolde geweald, etc.

¹⁶ A, þa nolde (506, 20).

¹⁷ Na not in A, but in B.

¹⁸ A, habban (506, 21).

¹⁹ for þan heo . . . eall wuld wæs his not in A; nor does C have anything corresponding to ac he pone deoflican deað feor nyðer atræd (506, 21).

²⁰ A, Satan (506, 22).

²¹ þa not in A.

²² A, and hyne fæste.

²³ Mid anes draca bæcinge not in A.

²⁴ Remainder of this sentence not in A.

²⁵ This paragraph, Eala . . . hire on wæron has only Ac heo hyne þa underfeng (506, 23) corresponding in A. Eala mæn, homiletic language. C omits eall swa hyre fram ure heofenlican hlaford gehaten wæs (506, 24).

²⁶ A, to Satane (506, 25).

²⁷ C omits and la ðu . . . modignisse (506, 26-28).

²⁸ A, þu þe þæt þu þæt gepanc on þæt Iudeisce (506, 29).

on heora heorten, þæt heo þone Hælend onhengen? And¹ þu nu purh þære rode² treowe ealle þine blisse hæfest forspilled. Nu³ þu hæfest yfele gedon⁴ ongean me and ongean þe, and⁵ þu forð to domes dæige scealt beon þuss gebunden, and feala ece tintregen on me geðrowigen⁶ and on cwicsusle beornen.' Þa⁷ þæt Crist geherde, hwu seo helle þone⁸ deofel, Beelzebub, mid⁹ mycele gryre geðreatode and mid worde tyrwede, þa cwæð¹⁰ he: 'Beo nu se deofol,¹¹ helle ealdor, on þinen anwealde, and git bute on forspillednysse¹² aa buten ænde.' "And se wulderfulle Cyng¹³ aþenede his hand¹⁴ and cwæð: 'Ealle mine¹⁵ halgen þe mine gelicnysse habbeð, cumeð to me.'¹⁶ Þa ealle¹⁷ þa halgen genelæhten¹⁸ to his hande, and se Hælend þa Adam [*Fol. 99a*] beo þære rihthand genam and him to cwæð: 'Sib seo mid þe, Adam, and mid¹⁹ þinen bearnen.' Adam wæs þa nyðer feallinde and þæs Hælendes cneow cyssende and mid tearengteotende [*halsunge*], and mid²⁰ stefne clypigende and þuss cweðende: 'Ic herige þe, heofona Hlaford, þæt þu me of þyssere cwicsusle woldest onfon.'²¹ Se²² Hælend þa his hand aþenede and rodetacne ofer Adam geworhte and ofer ealle þa²³ oðre halgen; and he Adam beo þære swyðre hand fram helle ateah and his þa gecorena.²⁴ And Daid cwæð:²⁵ 'Singeð ealle halgen²⁶ ure Drihtene neowne sang.'²⁷ And heo sungan:²⁸ 'On doxa wyste uoysena. Alleluia. Alleluia.'

¹ C omits *and þu hym nanne gylt on ne oncneowe* (506, 30).

² A, *þæt tryw and purh þa rode hæfst* (506, 31); *hæfest* above line.

³ C omits *and purh þæt þe þu þysne wuldres cyning ahenge* (506, 32).

⁴ A, *Du dydest wyðerwerdlice ongean þe and eac ongean me* (506, 53).

⁵ and *þu forð* . . . gebunden not in A.

⁶ A, and *oncnaw nu hu fæla ece tynntrega and þa ungeendodan suslo þu byst þrowigende on mynre ecan gehealtsumnysse* (506, 34, 35).

⁷ A, *Ac þa ða se wuldres cyning* (508, 1).

⁸ A, *wyð þone reðan Satan.*

⁹ mid *mycele* . . . tyrwede not in A.

¹⁰ A, *He cwæð to þære helle* (508, 2).

¹¹ A has simply *Satan on*, etc.

¹² A, *on ecum forwyrd*, and *þæt beo æfre to ecere worulde, on þære stowe þe ge Adam and þæra witegena bearn ær lange on geheoldon* (508, 3-5).

¹³ A, *Dryhten* (508, 6).

¹⁴ A, *þa his swyðran hand aþenede.*

¹⁵ A, *ge myne* . . . *ge þe* (508, 7).

¹⁶ C omits after this *and ge þe purh þæs treowes bleða genyðerude wæron, ge seoð nu þæt ge sceolon purh þæt treow mynre rode, þe ic on ahangen wæs, oferswyðan þone deað and eac þone deofol.* (508, 8-10).

¹⁷ A, *Hyt wæs þa swyðe raðe þæt ealle*, etc. (508, 11).

¹⁸ A, *wæron genealcende to þæs Hælendes.*

¹⁹ A, *myd eallum* (508, 14).

²⁰ A, *myd mycelre stefne þus cwæð* (508, 16).

²¹ A, *onfon woldest* (508, 17).

²² A, *And se.*

²³ A, *his halgan* (508, 19).

²⁴ A, and *ealle þa halgan heom æfter fyligdon* (508, 20).

²⁵ A, *Ac se halga Daid þa ðus clypode myd stranglicre stefne and* (508, 21).

²⁶ ealle halgen not in A.

²⁷ A, *lofsang* (508, 22); C omits, *for þam ðe Dryhten hæfð wundra eallum þeodum geswutelod; and he hæfð hys hæle cude* (MS *hude*) *gedon toforan ealre þeode gesyhðe, and his ryhtwysnysse onwrigen* (508, 23-25).

²⁸ A, *Ealle þa halgan hym þa andswaredon and cwædon, "Dæs sig Dryhtne mærd and eallum hys halgum wuldor. Amen. Alleluia."* (508, 25-27).

"Almihstig¹ God betæhte þa Adam Michaelæ, þan behængle, and² he heo gebrohte³ to neorxnewanga mid wulderfulre blisse. And⁴ þa-þa heo inn foren, þa gemetten heo twegen weres.⁵ Ða cwædon⁶ heo: 'Hwæt synden ge þe mid us⁷ on helle næron, and⁸ eowwer lichame swa þeh libbende⁹ is?' Ða cwæð se oðer:¹⁰ 'Ic eam Enoch and ic þurh Drihtenes word wæs hider gelædd, and þiss is Helias¹¹ þe [Fol. 99b] mid me is; se wæs on fyrene chearte¹² hider gefered, and get wyt¹³ deaðes ne onbyrigden. Ac wyt sculen mid Godes¹⁴ tacne Antecristes anbidian and ongean hine fihthen¹⁵ and on Ierusalem beon¹⁶ þurh hine ofslagene, and on¹⁷ feorðe healfen dæige¹⁸ beon eft gecwicode and þurh gehniþe eft¹⁹ to eow up onhafene.'

"Onmang²⁰ þan þa com þær an scaðe and an rodetacne on his exle bær. Ða cwæð þæt werod:²¹ 'Hwæt eart þu þe eart anen scaðe gelic?'²² 'Soð ge seggeð þæt ic scaðe wæs and eall yfel wyrrende.²³ Ac þa Iudees wið þone Hælend onhengen me,²⁴ and ic his miltse bæd, and he me getyðede and of synne alesde and mid his worde hider asænde to þan ængle mid þyssen²⁵ tacne þe ge on minen halse geseoð and het me her eower abiden.' Ða cwædon heo ealle: 'Seo gebletsod se mildheorte God, se-þe us are and mildse forgeaf.' He andswerede and cwæð: 'Amen.'"

¹ A, *Se halga Dryhten wæs þa Adames hand healdende, and hig Michaelæ, þam heah-ængle, syllende and hym sylf wæs on heofenas farende.*

² C omits *Ealle þa halgan wæron þa Mychaelæ, þam heahængle, æfterfyligende* (508, 30, 31).

³ A, *hig ealle ingelœdde on.*

⁴ A, *Ac þa hig inweard* (508, 32).

⁵ A, *ealde weras* (508, 33).

⁶ A, *and ealle þa halgan hig sona acsedon and heom þus to cwædon.*

⁷ A, *on helle myd us* (508, 35).

⁸ C omits *and ge nu gyt deaðe næron*; the *ww* in *eowwer* due to end of line.

⁹ A, *on neorxnawange togædere syndon* (510, 1, 2).

¹⁰ A, *Se oðer hym þa andswarode and cwæð.*

¹¹ A, *Helias Thesbyten* (510, 4).

¹² A, *cræte* (510, 5).

¹³ A, *wyt gyt* (510, 5).

¹⁴ A, *godcundum tacnum and myd forebeacnum* (510, 6).

¹⁵ A, *wynnan* (510, 7).

¹⁶ A, *and wyt sceolon on Hierusl. fram hym* (510, 8); C omits *and he eac fram us. Ac wyt sceolon* (510, 9).

¹⁷ A, *bynnan.*

¹⁸ A, *dæges fæce.*

¹⁹ *eft to eow* not in A.

²⁰ A, *Ac onmang þam ðe Enoch and Eliās þus spræcon, heom þær to becom sum wer þe wæs earmlices hywes, and wæs berende anre rode tacen on uppan hys, etc.* (510, 10-13).

²¹ A, *Ac þa halgan hyne þa sona gesawon and hym to cwædon* (510, 14).

²² A, *ðyn ansyn ys swylce anes sceaðan*; C omits *and hwæt ys þæt tacen þe ðu on uppan þynum ealum byrst?* He hym andswarode and cwæð (510, 15, 16).

²³ A, *yfelu on eorðan* (510, 17).

²⁴ A has *me before wyð* (510, 18).

²⁵ C here compresses into one or two short sentences what A requires more than half a page to say; *and ic þa geseah ealle þa ðing þe be þam Hælende on þære rōde gedone wæron; and ic þa sona gelyfde þæt he wæs ealra geseafta Scyppend and se ælmyhtiga Cyning. And ic hyne georne bæd and þus cwæð*; "Eala Dryhten, gemun þu myn," etc. . . . He and swa rode and cwæð: "Amen" (510, 18-512, 6).

Ðiss wæron þa halige¹ geryne þe² Carinus and Leuticius awriten.³ And Carinus up astod⁴ and his carten Annam and Caipham and Gamaliele on hand sealde,⁵ and Leuticius his carte Nichodeme and Iosephe on hand [*Fol. 100a*] gesealde; and [heo] cwæden:⁶ “Godes⁷ sibb seo mid eow eallen.”⁸ And Carinus and Leuticius wæron þa færinge on⁹ fægeren heowe swylce¹⁰ sunne leome,¹¹ and on pære brihtnysse fram¹² þan folca gewiten to eenen life.¹³ And þa þa gewriten gerædde wæron,¹⁴ þa wæron heo¹⁵ gelice gewritene, þæt þær næs on nader¹⁶ mare þone on oðern ane stæfe, ne forðen ane¹⁷ prica.

Þa þa soðfæste¹⁸ hit geherdan, þa cwæden heo: “Seo Drihten gebletsod āa on eallra¹⁹ worlde woruld. Amen.” And heo²⁰ ferden ham mid mycelen ege and blisse. And Ioseph and Nichodemus ferden²¹ to Pilaten and him heora²² gewrit æteowden. And Pilatus²³ hit sænde Claudium to Romane byrig and gewrit²⁴ hwu hit beo þan Hælende geworden wæs on Ierusalem, and hwu heo hine belæwden and hine him syððen

¹ A, *syndon þa godcundan and þa halgan* (512, 7). ² A, *þe ða twegen wytegan* (512, 8).

³ A, *to soðon gesawon and gehyrdon, eallswa ic ær her beforan sæde, þæt hig on þysne dæg myd þam Hælende of deaðe aryson, eallswa hig se Hælend of deaðe awehte* (512, 8-11).

⁴ A, *and þa hig eall þys gewriten and gefylled hæfdon, hig up aryson and þa cartan þe hig gewriten hæfdon þam ealdrum ageafon* (512, 11, 13).

⁵ A, *Carinus his cartan ageaf Annan, etc.; on hand not in A.*

⁶ A, *And gelice Leuticius his cartan ageaf Nychodeme, etc.; on hand not in A, but B has ageaf and on hand sealde* (513, 15).

⁷ A, *and heom þus to cwædon* (512, 15).

⁸ Godes not in A.

⁹ A, *eallum fram þam sylfan Dryhtne Hælendum Cryste and fram ure ealra Hælende* (512, 16, 17).

¹⁰ A, *swa fægere . . . swa.*

¹¹ *leome* not in A, but A has after *sunne*, *þonne he (heo B.) beorhtost scyneð* (512, 18).

¹² A, *hyg of þam folce* (512, 19).

¹³ *to eenen life* not in A, but A has *swa þæt þæs folces nawyht nyston hwæder hig foron* (512, 20).

¹⁴ A, *Ac þa ealdras þa and þa mæssepreostas þa gewrytu ræddon þe Carinus and Leuticius gewriten hæfdon* (512, 21).

¹⁵ A, *þa wæs ægðer gelice* (512, 22).

¹⁶ A, *nader næs ne læsse ne mare þonne oðer be anum stafe* (512, 23).

¹⁷ A, *be anum* (512, 24).

¹⁸ A, *And ða þa gewrytu gerædde wæron, eall þæt Iudeisce folc (supplied from B) þa heom betrynan cwædon: “Soðe syndon ealle þas þyng þe her gewordene syndon, and æfre sig,” etc.* (512, 24-27).

¹⁹ A, *geblotsod a woruld, a woruld.*

²⁰ A, *And ælc þara Iudea wæs þa ham to his agenum farende myd mycelre ymbhydnysse and myd mycelum ege and myd mycelre fyrhto, and heora breost beatende, þæt hig myd þam betan woldon þæt hig wyð God agyllt hæfdon* (512, 28-31).

²¹ A, *wæron þa farende to Pil., þam deman* (512, 32).

²² A, *eall atæaldon be þam twam wytegum, Carine and Leutice, and be þam gewriton, and be ealre hæfe fure þe hym æror bedygglod wæs* (512, 33-514, 1).

²³ C compresses the A-B version of Pilate's letter to Claudius until it is about one-fourth as long (cf. 514, 515).

²⁴ A, *Ac Pilatus þa on hys domerne hym sylf awrat, etc.* (514, 1, 2).

sealden, and hwu heo hine anhangen and on byrigele alegden, and hwu he of deaðe aras, and hwu heo þone medsceatt þan weardmænn sealden, and swa þeh [heo] hit forhelen ne mihten. "Nu, leofe Casere, ne geleaf þu na þære Iudea leasunge, for-þan piss is eall soð þæt hit swa is gewor-den. Seo Drihtene lof and deofle sarege. Amen."

IV. A HOMILY ON THE HARROWING OF HELL.

(From MS C.C.C.C. 41, pp. 295 ff.; margin.)

Men þa leofestan, her sagað an pissum bocum ym[be]¹ ða miclan gewird þe to ðisse nihte wearð : þæt² ure Drihten, Hælend Crist, on ðas niht gewearð,³ þe nu to niht wæs. þæt he of deaðe aras to midre nihte, and⁴ he astahg niðer to helwarum to þan, þæt he wolde þa helle bereafian, and swa gedyde, and þæt ealdor deoful oferswiðan. And hit wearð⁵ him cuðlice ætiwed [P. 296] þæt he swa wolde gedon. Þæt dioful is geciged and nemned Satanas, þæt is, ealdor deoful inwite; and he rixað and wunað in helle nypeweardre. Vrê Drihten astahg in ða helle to ðan,⁶ þæt he wolde þa halga sawla þanon generian. Hit sagað þæt þa comon manige men to hellegatum, and þa men wæron atelice⁷ and swiðe laðlice gewordene. And hit sagað þæt ða men wæron þære helle and ðara deofla geatweardas, þæt hi woldon þa helle belucan wið uris⁸ Drihtenes fore and wið his pydereyme. Her sægeð þæt hi wurdun hrædlice afyrhtede, þa ure Drihten com an þas niht to ðære hellegatum, þæt ða loco burstun and niðer feollon ongean⁹ hine. And¹⁰ he eode þa ing,⁸ ure Drihten, and bræc þa helle and nerede¹¹ ða halgan sawla ðe an ðan wite ær lange sæton. And hi wæron þa sprecende, þa helware, him betwunum, and hi cwædon:¹² "Hwæt taliað¹³ we hwæt ðes cempa sie ðe into us gæð? Taligað we hwæðere uss[e]¹⁴ geatweardas slapen, þa ðes fyhtling¹⁵ in to us eode? Oððe taligað we hwæðer he hæbbe¹⁶ his ware gesette wið usne ordfruma? Oððe he hine ofslegene, and þurh þæt he into us eode?"

Þæt dioful gewat of þisse helle feras to ðan, þæt he Iudas gelærde þæt hi Crist on rode-gealgan ahengon; and he git ne com, eala, þæt he ne wat hwilc¹⁷ wæl him is gerenod in ðisse helle. And he ða, ure

¹ Emendations to MS are in brackets: resolutions, except *þæt*, and, are in italics.

² With one exception, MS has *þ*.

³ *gewearð* almost illegible.

⁴ MS has *and*.

⁵ The *r* in *wearð* above line in MS.

⁶ MS has *ðan* more frequently than *ðam*.

⁷ *ic* above line in MS.

⁸ So MS.

⁹ *e* above line in MS.

¹⁰ *and he eode* above line in MS.

¹¹ *d* corrected from *ð* in MS.

¹² MS has *hi^e wæ^d on*.

¹³ It is difficult to determine whether the MS reading is *taliað* or *toliað*.

¹⁴ MS has *us sgeat wear das*; *d* corrected from *ð*.

¹⁵ *t* above line in MS.

¹⁶ Second *b* above line in MS.

¹⁷ *l* above line in MS.

Drihten, astahg furður in¹ þa helle mid his leohtes leoman, oð þæt he geseah hwær Adam sæt, ure ealra fæder, mid eallum his frumcynne. And he Adam wæs þa sprecende and cwæð: "Hwæt taligað we hwæt þis leoht sie þe þus hædre scineð on ðas helle æfter pisse uneaðlican weorulde?" Hi wæron ða sprecende, þa helware, him betweonum and hi cwædon: "Hwæt is ðes scinenda and þes beorhta þe us hæfð mid his leohtes leoman? Yfele we sindon her in gebegane. Hwæt, we nu wæron fægne, þæt² we us [P. 297] moston bediglan on ussum scræfum,³ þæt he us ne swencte mid his mægnis⁴ nidbaðe! Hwæt, we witon þæt næfre ær ne wæs nænig to þæs pristig þæt he lifigende into us eode.⁵ Taligað we hwæpere he heonon hworfe butan usse wrace? Hwæt, we witon þæt næfre ær in middangeard ðy lic [we] ne gesawun on ure hælo! ne nefre ær þus wynsum leoht ne com on þis blindde setl, ne an ðisne [s]weartan seap. Hwæt, we gehyrað and geseoþ þæt ðeos arlease siniðpe⁶ is adumbud, þæt is, þeos hel and ðas wito blindigað, swa hi ær ne dydon! ne þas sawla ne sprancetað under ussum slagum; ne⁷ hi ne bifigað ne ne forhtigað. Hwæt, we gesioð þæt þes scinenda is to ðan hider cyme, þæt he nereð þas sawla! He reafað þas helle, ne wile he her wunian mid us on pissum wite."

And her sægeð eft þæt⁸ þa helware þus reonodon þa þæt ordfremme folc and þæt geswencede werod. Adam and his cyn hi feollon to ures Domine foton and wependum wordum hi cwædon: "Drihten, genere us of ðissum witum, þæt næfre diofulu ofer us ne seo⁹ æfter ðe." Ða se stranga wið þæne¹⁰ stranga gerædde, þa ure Drihten acom and þæt ealdr dioful¹¹ geband and træd under his fotum [and] þæs diofules miht lytlode. And ure Domine nam þa Adam be his handa and teah hine up of þære helle and ealle ða halgan sawla þe ðæron wæron. And on ðæne dæg, ðe nu to-dæg is, micelne here¹² þara halegra sawla he lædde mid him up of ðære helle and brohte to heofenum and gefylde þa setl mid þam sawlum ðe lange ær weste stodon.

"Swiðe us is ðonne to gefencanne," cwæð se writtere, "nu¹³ men ða leofestan, þæt ure Drihten hafað eft gefingod heder on þisne middangeard on forman easterniht to þan þæt he ealre pisse worulde ende gesetteð, swa ure Drihten silfe cwæð, [P. 298] 'Ic cyme and mina meda mid me bringe.' He sipað, ure Drihten, on þisne middangeard, mid micelre egesan cymeð. Sunne and monan pistriað, and steorran feallað on eorðan, and hefnas beoð gefealdene swa oðere bēc. And he sendeð penne, ure Drihten, his engelas feower, and hi blawað feower byman

¹ MS, *In*.² *þæt* above a blotch in MS.³ The word has been corrected in MS.⁴ So MS.⁵ It is difficult to make out the *eo* on account of a blot in MS.⁶ MS reading is more like *sinið* than *smið*.⁷ MS, *Ne*.⁸ MS, *þa*.⁹ MS reading seems to be *feo*, rather than *seo*.¹⁰ Possibly *þæne* in MS.¹¹ *i* above line in MS.¹² MS, *here he þara*.¹³ MS reading might be *onne* or *oune* or *nu ne*.

æt feower sceatum pisses middangeardes. Þonne siþan þa byman geblawen habbað, þæt næfre fis ne fugel ne wæter ne wilde dȳor ne fyr, ne ne fela wihta to þan wide þæs mannes lichaman ne todeleð on þisse worulde on his eagan breohtme, þonne bið þeos eorðe eft swa niwe swa hio wæs þy dæge þe hi God geworhte. Ðonne seo saul and se¹ lichama byoð gegadrode, and hi árisað þonne up of þære eorðan and gað forð to þan dome; and syðan þios eorðe forbyrneð mid eallum hire gestreonum and gemilt nyþer in² helle. And sit ure Domine on his heahsetle, and he hafað his rode him an handa, and hio lyhteð ofer ealne þisne middangeard, and hio bið blode bestroden, swa hio wæs þy dæge þe he on þrowode; and þa wunda byoð swa opena and swa nywe swa hi wæron þy dæge þe he Iudas an his lichaman geworhte. Fyr byrneð beforan Drihtenes heahsetle, and eall manna cyn sceal byrnan on þam fyre, ær hi to ðam dome gangen, þæt hi sin þe beortran and þe clænran beforan Cristes eagna gesyhðe. Ond þonne Godes engelas árádað ælces mannes worc, swa god swá yfel, swa hi ær gewyrht habbað. Hi standað, þa men, æt þam dome þe him her nu ða ne hirað, ne his larae³ ne gimað. Hi bioð swiðe beofiende⁴ and wepende, and hira weorðung þær ne bið þe mare þe her on worulde þæs mætestan þeowes. Þa deman and ða ealdormen þenu earmra manna æhta nidinga nimað and gegripað [and] [P. 299] his worc cettap and hate epiað and fnæstniað; and hi swætað blode, and him þær ne bið nænig clænnis seald, ne ræft (ræst?).

Ðæt⁵ la bið se bitera dæg and se strange dæg. Þæt la bið bealluis⁶ dæg and biman dæg, cyrnes dæg and cerfulnessse dæg. Þæt la bið nearonesse dæg and earfoðnysse dæg; and ðæt⁵ la bið se bifenda⁷ domes dæg eallum mannum to gebidanne. Hi gað þonne ða Godes engelas and asceadað þa gedefan saula fram þan synfulum, and hi settað gode on þa swi[ð]ran healfe and þa synfulan on þa winstran healfe. And he hwyrff hine þonne on þa wynstran, ure Domine, and he bið þonne sprecende to eallum þan synfullum mannum, efne swá he⁸ to anum men cweðe and sprece. And he cwæð, “Eala, þai man! hwæt, ic ðe geworhte minum handum, þæt þu were me sylfum to anlicnysse! Ic þe gestaðolode on [n]leorsnawanges wuldure, þa ðu mine ðā leoflican bebodu forhogodest and þu hyrdest io swicendum swiðor þonne þæt gescope. An þane folgað þu forworhtest, þe ic þe ansende, and áwearp of ðan wuldre to deaðe. Ða ic me geeaðmedde to þan þæt ic gesohte fæmnanede lichaman innoð, and ic wæs geboren þurh mines ece gebyrd for þe, and cildlica sceama ic gepafode and eal menise sar ic ðrowode, and ic gepafode þæt me man mid bradum handum slogh on min nebb, and ful spatl man spau on min neb, and eeced and geallan ic birigde; and me man swang mid swipan,

¹ Above line in MS.² MS, In.³ So MS.⁴ MS, heofiende?⁵ Written out in MS.⁶ u in bealluis above line in MS.⁷ MS, bipenda.⁸ Above line in MS.

and þyrnenne helm man sette on min heafod, and ic let mine sidun purhþyrlian, þær ic þe of deaðe neredede.

"Loca nu and geseoh þara wunda swaðe and þara nægla dolh þe min lichama wæs mid purhdrifen. Eal þas sar ic geðrowode for ðe, þær ic tilode [*P. 300*] þæt¹ þu an hefenum rixsode. For hwan,² lá man, ferlur þu þis eall ðe ic for ðe geprowode, and fær hwan feng þu unðanc? Hwa wat þa seminga ic³ nu leng be minum deaðe ne sprece? Agif me þin lif for-þan ic min lif fær ðe sealde. For hwan besmite þu me mid þinum synnum, and þæt templ þe ic me sylfum gehalgode? Þa sealdest þu diofolle hus þær ic me restan pohte. Fær hwan bescridest þu ðe nu to dæg heofona rices gefean? Me wæs sio rod þinra synna micle hefigra þonne me wære sio rod þe ic on ácweald wæs.

"Ic cweðe nu to eow, gewitað ge áwirgede fram me in þæt ecce fyr; and ic eow betyne to dæg heofona rices duru togeanes, swa ge betyndon eowra dura togenes þearfum ð[e] an mine naman to eow eigdon. Nelle ic gehiran to dæg eowre stefne þe ma ðe ge woldon gehiran þæs earman stefne."

Hi foð þonne, þa deoflo, to ðan saulum and lædað into helle. Þonne arist *Sancta* Maria and hio gæð forð and hio annihð to ussum Hælende, and hio bideþ þæt he hire forgife þane ðriddan dæl þæs forþorhtan weredes. And he álifeð hire, and hio gæð þonne and áscætð þane þrid-dan dæl þara saula and geset gode on þa swiðran healfe.

Þonne arist *Sanctus* Michael and he gæð forð and he nihð to ussum Hælende, and he bid þæt he him forgife þone ðriddan dæl þæs forwyrhtan weredes. And he álifeð him, and he gæð þonne and scætð þane þrid-dan dæl þara saula [and] geset gode on swiðran hand.

Þonne arist *Sanctus* Petrus and he gæð forð and he nihð to ussum Drihten, and he bit þæt he him forgyfe þane þrid-dan dæl þæs [for]-wyrhtan weredes. And⁴ he alyfeð him, and he gæð þonne [*P. 301*] and áscætð þæne þrid dæl ðara saula and geset gode on ða swiðran healfe.

And nimað þanne þa deofolo ða lafe and lædað to helle, and he gæp þonne æfter, *Sanctus* Petrus, and belicþ þa helle and wyrpð þa cæge on þone grund, þa næfre siððan gode angeminde ne cumað. He wyrfd hine ðanne, ure Drihten, on þa swiðran healfe to ðan gedefum mannun. And he⁵ cwið: "Þa me hingrede, þa sealde ge me mete; þa me þyrste, ða sealde ge me drincan; þa ic wæs nacod, þa gyredige⁶ me; þa ic ælðiodig [wæs], þa anfengon ge min; þa ic wæs⁷ untrum, þa fandode ge min." And hi þonne cweðað: "*Domine*, hwanne wæs þæt æfre, þæt ðu þæs byhofodes?" And him þonne *andswarað* ure Drihten and cwið: "Þonne ge sealdon ðan earman þonne afeng ic þære ælmyssan." And he ariseð

¹ Written out in MS.

² *h* above line in MS. ³ MS, *Ic*.

⁴ *and* above line in MS.

⁵ *h* above line in MS.

⁶ *y* above line in MS.

⁷ *wæs* above line in MS.

ure Drihten of ðan dome, and he fereð þonne uppe to hefenum and ða ealle mid him ðe nu her an middangearde þæs rices girna and æfter earniað and ure *Domines* bebodu healdað. And se Drihten lifað and ricsaþ mid feder and mid suna and mid þan halgan gaste a worulda, a woruldá á butan ænegum ende. Amen.

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